MANLY BEAUTY AND POLITICAL EC[illegible]
ASCULINITIES IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA[illegible]

By

GARY DOUGLAS MACDONALD

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1997

owmindedness w uld not have comple
s dissertation Th my committee deserve
mention John Murcher ouise Newman, and Stephanie
helped me even when I wanted no help Anne Goodwyn
enthusiasm and dissertation reading group sustained
k and my sympathy with humankind And David Leverenz
did more work on this document than I did some
ys--he s a model of professionalism and humanity But no
e gave better for worse more than my good friend, Rhonda
ris, who cheered me despite myself and who improved my
ing because I needed her help

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

KNOWLEDGMENTS ii

ABSTRACT iv

CHAPTERS

1 INTRODUCTION 1

2 MANLY BEAUTY AND THE BEAST: EMERGING MASCULINITIES IN AN INDUSTRIALIZING NORTHEAST 8

Political and Physiological Economies 10
"A Strong Golden Chain": Forging Tariff Policy 29
Negotiating Representations of Manhood 53
Notes 73

3 MANLY BEAUTY AND REGIONAL HEROISM: JAMES FENIMORE COOPER'S THE DEERSLAYER, OR THE INLAND SEA AND WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS'S THE YEMASSEE 77

Notes 131

4 MANLY BEAUTY AND THE RHETORIC OF PROGRESSIVE CIVILIZATION: FRANCIS PARKMAN'S THE OREGON TRAIL AND HERMAN MELVILLE'S TYPEE 135

Notes 202

5 HENRY DAVID THOREAU'S THE MAINE WOODS. MANLY BODIES, WHITE PINES, COMMERCE 204

White Pines 216
Lessons of Fire 231
Economic Prospects: From Blindness to Insight 240
Notes 255

6 CONCLUSION 260

WORKS CITED 271

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

MANLY BEAUTY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY:
MASCULINITIES IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICAN CULTURE

By

Gary Douglas MacDonald

August 1997

Chair: David Leverenz
Major Department: English

Mainstream political economy in antebellum America supported a version of masculinity associated with commercial interdependence, social responsibility, and manly beauty. Contemporary studies of antebellum masculinities, however, commonly assume that economic rhetoric during industrialization generated a dominant version of masculinity that required commercial competition, selfishness, and physical aggression--qualities associated with the "self-made man." I argue that commercial interdependence, social responsibility and manly beauty were leading characteristics for the representation of men in antebellum America, but that--particularly in the Northeast--those qualities were challenged by the economic necessities of industrialization. The competing definitions of

[illegible] influence the representations of masculinity in the works of James Fenimore Cooper, Herman Melville, Francis Parkman, Henry David Thoreau, and William Gilmore Simms. James Fenimore Cooper's Harry March, from The Deerslayer, or, the Inland Sea, and his Raoul Yvard from The Wing-and-Wing, are described as 'beautiful' men, but each is defeated by economic relations that privilege hard-bodied, plain men. Herman Melville's Tommo, from Typee, toys with composing either a beautiful or an aggressive masculine self-identity but repeatedly "escapes" economic exchange to a fantasized adolescent, extra-economic refuge of "home" and 'mother." Francis Parkman's narrator of The Oregon Trail establishes an aristocratic persona that is above economic exchange, and thereby maintains a beautiful and aggressive masculine identity. Henry David Thoreau, in The Maine Woods, aggressively re-invigorates the language of commercial exchange to compose a masculine identity that foregrounds social interaction and manly beauty. William Gilmore Simms' Gabriel Harrison, from The Yemassee, is described as a beautiful man--as are many of Simms' fictional heroes--who successfully bolsters an expanded definition of "commerce" that foregrounds social over monetary exchange. By exploring the relevance of manly beauty to the composition of masculine identities, this dissertation complicates critical understanding of antebellum masculinities.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The dissertation that follows responds to two questions. First, how did the language through which antebellum economists and politicians characterized manhood alter when they addressed the economic impact of the industrial revolution? Second, were those characterizations of manhood relevant to the ways that masculinity was represented in the literature of the period? To put the questions more colloquially, how did political economists and novelists talk about manhood prior to the industrial revolution compared to how they talked about manhood during the industrial revolution, and did it matter?

To answer the first of these questions, I examine the tariff debates of the 1820s, 30s, and 40s. A protective tariff was only one facet of the Whigs' American System, which also advocated (primarily) a national bank and federal support for internal improvements. Nevertheless, the tariff debates remain a particularly relevant context of this study for four reasons:

1. The tariff debate directly addressed the role of

The tariff debate was argued regularly for over thirty years, from around 1812 to about 1846; and it was a point of contention in every presidential campaign from 1828 through 1844

The tariff debate was often the most hotly argued question concerning the federal government--it was, for instance, the basis for South Carolina's first decision to secede from the Union, in 1832-33

Throughout the tariff debates, debaters directly and consciously invoked the tenets of antebellum political economy

consider the broader relevance of politicians and economists' characterization of manhood, the second of my questions, I examine six popular texts: The Yemassee (1833) by William Gilmore Simms, The Deerslayer (1841) and The Wing-and-Wing (1842), by James Fenimore Cooper, The Oregon Trail (1846) by Francis Parkman Typee (1846), by Herman Melville, and "Ktaadn" (1846) by Henry David Thoreau These texts seem appropriate to determine the relevance of political economy to popular representations of masculine representation because each focuses upon a masculine first-person narrator More particularly, the first-person

narrators demonstrate a [illegible] identifications

The study suggests that from [illegible] political economy did not significantly evolve. Although industrialization advanced apace in the antebellum Northeast, the discourse of political economy continued to insist primarily commercial/agricultural ideals. In 1816 as well as in 1846, political economy supported an ideal manhood that it associated with an expanded definition of "commerce" and with "manly beauty."

Commerce, political economy suggested, fostered a division of labor, and labor specialization induced economic interdependence, the basis for an extra-economic definition of "commerce" as not only the actual trading of goods but also as the social interaction necessarily accompanying trade. "Commerce" buttressed the social contract that formed from one laborer's need to protect the goods of the people with whom he trades. Political economy's ideal man was both an independent producer and a commercial conduit, a working man through which the community was connected, strengthened, and extended. He was productive and industrious specifically because he fostered social and economic interdependence.

[illegible] interdependence in three ways:

1. Commercial interaction itself was [illegible] aesthetically pleasing because it was a balanced, productive, and efficient system--as such, commerce necessarily beautified participants
2. A productive and efficient economy literally provided exercise and sufficient nutrients to the working population, thereby eliminating disease or deformity and promoting physical health, associated with physical beauty
3. Beauty was recognized as an attribute that promoted "sympathy"--that is, like social and economic interdependence (which made laborers recognize their own desires in their trading partner's desires), beauty encouraged people to identify with another. Consequently, it served as a metonym for the social and commercial contract

Manly beauty was a marker of "commercial" interaction (with its broad social implications) and individual economic productivity.

The dissertation examines the extent to which the commercial ideal of manly beauty was relevant to representations of masculinity in contemporary texts.

[illegible] Emerging [illegible] Northeast, I examine treatises on political economy and physiology to demonstrate the ways that the two sciences recognized the relationships between masculine bodies and economic policy. I argue that the tariff debates of 1842 and 1846 show the Whigs' inability either to alter the accepted tenets of political economy or to make a protective tariff policy rhetorically consonant with those tenets. Finally, the chapter explores economic journals and tracts to highlight the kinds of characterizations of manhood that derived from the debate.

Chapter two, "Manly Beauty and Regional Heroism: James Fenimore Cooper's The Deerslayer, or The Inland Sea and William Gilmore Simms's The Yemassee, considers the regional characterizations of manhood that derived from the tariff debates. The chapter compares the composition of a popular hero of the free trade South, Simms' Charles Craven, to a popular hero of the pro-tariff North, Cooper's Natty Bumppo. Simms's hero is simply associated with both manly beauty and commerce whereas Cooper's hero is associated with but alienated from the ideals of political economy. In negotiating the contradiction, Cooper idealizes a hero whose subsistence-level foraging avoids trade and whose hard body

[illegible] accepts commerce of [illegible]

Chapter three, "Manly Beauty and the Rhetoric of [illegible]ressive Civilization: Francis Parkman's The Oregon Trail and Herman Melville's Typee," juxtaposes the first published works of New Yorker Melville and New Englander Parkman in order to contrast the strategies for representing the masculinities of Northeasterners of dramatically different economic backgrounds. The comparison suggests that economic privilege eased northeastern men's abillty to maintain a sense of themselves as both commercial and beautiful people. The narrator of Parkman's autobiographical account fashions a sense of manhood as hard-bodied and beautiful by demonstrating both his association with and his independence from producers and consumers. The narrator of Melville's autobiographical account posits a series of failed escapes from economic pressures against which he cannot fashion a sense of himself as beautiful or successfully commercial, and he finally offers a fantasy of a return to "home," "mother," and presumably boyhood.

Chapter four, "Henry David Thoreau's The Maine Woods: Manly Bodies, White Pines, Commerce" examines the first two of Thoreau's Maine woods trilogy, "Ktaadn" and "Chesuncook,"

ideals of political economy in Massachusetts, the state most frequently associated with the protective tariff. The chapter considers "Ktaadn" as a lesson in political economy aimed at Concordians. It suggests that Thoreau's economic lesson invokes both Democratic arguments favoring free trade and an associated ideal of manly beauty.

MANLY [illegible] AND THE BEAST
EMERGING MASCULINITIES IN THE INDUSTRIALIZING NORTHEAST

O, it is misery far above
The smiting of Death's icy hand,
To live with men one cannot love,
With men who cannot understand
That aught the human heart should move,
Save lust of power, or gold, or land
Charles Congdon "Midnight Thoughts"

'Man has been denominated by some enthusiastic admirers of political economy an animal that makes exchanges, he has here been called a plundering animal I should say he is an animal that makes tariff speeches" (Shepard, 1436, January 29, 1833) Rep Shepard's contribution to the Congressional tariff debate of 1833 indicates the extent to which antebellum tariff debates debated the nature of man The tenets of political economy, through which the tariff was debated, identified man as naturally an exchanging animal That assumption was supported by physiological theories that claimed that human bodies were most healthy when within a diversified economic environment This chapter explores the debate over the nature of man that was induced by the industrialization of the Northeast, by the

[illegible] nation's shifting economy incurred

[illegible] the well-known and important conflicts [illegible] the [illegible] erection and destruction of the Bank of the [illegible] the distribution of federal lands, the funding of [illegible] improvements, the extension of slavery--the tariff issue was the most hotly, and always the most consistently debated. The history of tariffs in American politics can be traced to 1789 and the debates that produced the Constitution, but the nature of tariff debates changed in 1816, following the war of 1812, which stimulated domestic manufactures. Manufactures were encouraged first by Jefferson's Embargo Act, which failed to keep the US out of the European war, then by the British blockade of American ports, and finally by the country's necessity for manufactured items to carry on the war against the British. By the close of the war, the country was convinced that domestic manufactures should be encouraged by a protective tariff[1]. The protective policy was extended in 1824, 1828 (the Tariff of Abominations), and 1832. By then, protection had been extended liberally to manufactures in general, not just to those items necessary in time of war, and the impost duties favored northern interests over southern

ordinance of nullification, [illegible] the collect[illegible] federal imposts within the state and threatening th[illegible] with secession and civil war. The nullification cris[illegible] diffused by the Compromise Act of 1833, which projected [illegible] nine-year plan for the reduction of imposts to a maximum [illegible] twenty percent and which pledged that future congresses would adjust the tariff policy only to produce the revenue necessary for the "economical administration" of the government. By 1842 protectionists (somewhat faithlessly) claimed that the "economical administration" of the government required almost three hundred percent of the revenue that had been required in 1833, and import rates were returned to about the rate they had been in 1828. The election of Polk in 1844 led to the tariff of 1846, which repudiated the principle of protection.

Political and Physiological Economies

The tariff debate foregrounded and challenged the tenets of antebellum political economy. Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations was the cornerstone of antebellum political economy, it championed the associated roles of a division of labor and of commerce in advancing civilization and establishing a social contract. Smith suggests that in a primitive state, men are independent hunters who subsist

[illegible] game [illegible]

Movement out of a primitive economy relies upon the emergence of a division of labor, which, in an open market, derives merely from a recognition of natural propensities: "In a tribe of hunters a particular person makes bows and arrows, for example, with more readiness and dexterity than any other. He frequently exchanges them for cattle or for venison with his companions, and he finds at last that he can in this manner get more cattle and venison, than if he himself went to the field to catch them" (Smith 29). When commerce is free, dividing labor allows workers to concentrate on tasks they do well, and to trade for what they cannot produce for themselves as easily. Overall production rises because workers learn to specialize. The advance in economic efficiency stimulates an advance in civilization because the economic interdependence fostered by commerce promotes the formation of a social contract to protect everyone's property--a formative step in the production of "civilization." Thus, for Smith, society progresses in tandem with the economy, and both are founded on the individual's "natural" propensity exchange his own productions for another's goods.

Antebellum elaborations of political economy reiterated Smith's premises. Francis Wayland's Political Economy

[illegible] identifies self-interest as [illegible] fundamental laws of political economy

> God has made man a creature of desires and constituted the material world in which he [illegible] with qualities and powers available for the gratifications of those desires As men advance in individual and social development, their desires are multiplied At the same time by their increased intelligence and ingenuity, the resources of nature are unfolded in full proportion Desire stimulates invention and successful invention wakes new desires There is no assignable limit to the development of either men's desires or nature s resources (original emphasis 4 5)

[illegible]sh desire is the keystone of invention and production, [illegible]ey, in turn, are the source of man's ability to further develop nature's resources And that, in short, is how an individual's needs propel society's development

George Opdyke describes the action similarly

> Through its prime agents, called merchants, commerce presents to every producer and every owner of value, all the varied forms of artificial utility, and invites each to give of such of his products as he needs least, in exchange for an equivalent of such as he needs most- By means of this simple plan, most of the varied wants and desires of mankind are in a measure amalgamated, or changed from individual to social It connects together all the wants and desires of the commercial world by a chain of interdependence similar to that by which the desires of an individual are woven together They are thus thrown, as it were, into a community of oneness, so that the possession of a commodity of value adapted to the satisfaction of a single want or desire, is thereby rendered equally available in the satisfaction of all others (46)

[illegible] trade goods which he produces quickly and well [illegible] goods which he cannot make so easily Opdyke labels the principle of 'Self Interest" (64); J. R. McCulloch calls it "the passion to rise--to ascend still higher in the scale of society" (77) and the "principle of increase" (78)

Commercial production, they suggest, is the primary means through which men establish not economic independence but commercial interdependence Opdyke's emphasis upon "a commercial world [linked] by a chain of interdependence,' commerce's creation of a 'community of oneness," is characteristic of the discourse Smith himself indicates, "In a civilized society [a person] stands at all times in need of the co-operation and assistance of great multitudes, while his whole life is scarce sufficient to gain the friendship of a few persons" (343) Unlike independent/ isolated, primitive peoples, civilized peoples are forced by their reliance upon a division of labor to rely on one another; the economic interdependence is a binding force, like friendship or, as Debow's January of 1846 "Foreign Commerce" section suggests, like love.

> 'What can be more evident than that the desire for [precious stones] in turn was suggested from without, was a matter of reciprocal education--a step in civilization Here, it was clearly the supply that created the demand, the demand reacting has increased the supply As love, in the most exquisite

> German stories, creates a soul in Unc[illegible] gives a new life to whomsoever feels [illegible] provided can be gratified ' (January 1846, 86)

This characterization is the less surprising given Smith's characterization of civilized men's motive for trade: self-love. Butchers, for example, exchange their meat for bread because they love themselves, not from charity. According to such rhetoric, economic production and trade leads not to economic independence but to commercial/social interdependence--reliance upon mutually beneficial exchange.

Twentieth-century readers may easily recognize the irony of describing commerce as natural. Terry Eagleton paraphrases the principles of this economic ideology smartly:

> On the one hand, [this ideology] figures as a genuinely emancipatory force--as a community of subjects now linked by sensuous impulse and fellow-feeling rather than by heteronomous law, each safeguarded in its unique particularity while bound at the same time into social harmony. On the other hand, [the ideology] signifies what Max Horkheimer has called a kind of 'internalised repression', inserting social power more deeply into the very bodies of those it subjugates, and so operating as a supremely effective mode of political hegemony. (28)

Antebellum political economy offered individuals the equivalent of a social contract, the acceptance of which confirmed individual autonomy but which harnessed the "individual" to a collective. The contract was the more binding because it defined the individual's nature

[illegible] assumptions [illegible] society and [illegible] based upon "natural" impulses, antebellum economists [illegible] that restrictions upon trader were unnatural. Henry Vethake's Principles of Political Economy (1844) criticizes "the interference of individuals and of governments with the natural order of things" (298) and advocates free trade as a system that leaves "things to their natural course" perfectly satisfied that, where man's wisdom is at a stand, an adequate provision will have been made by nature, or to speak more accurately, by the Author of nature, for the attainment of the greatest amount of human happiness, which, under the circumstances, is attainable" (303). Despite supporting some government regulation of trade (203), George Opdyke reminds his readers, "almost every existing revenue law designedly conflicts with the natural laws of trade, and thus interferes with the operations of commerce" (199), laws passed by legislators "[i]n apparent ignorance of the fact that the undisturbed action of the natural laws of trade never fails to direct commerce into the most productive channels" (203). Francis Wayland's condemnation of restrictive duties repeats the argument and the key term of Opdyke's observation: "[w]here no interference or obstruction is allowed, there comes a spontaneous development which is safe and constant because it is in

[illegible] with [illegible] law of [illegible] Wayland argued [illegible] that "There is a natural growth of human industry," that "free competition is the healthy stimulus to that growth," that "Under the natural law of development, industry will be applied to the several native resources of a country," and that "An industry which is not indigenous, which has no natural advantages, or which is prematurely set up and fostered by artificial means, can have only a sickly, uncertain life, and is supported at a wasteful expenditure of a nation's resources" (all emphases original, 364-365)

So culturally diffused, so naturalized, were economic arguments over the nature of man that they regularly appear not only in political economy texts but also in antebellum physiology and anatomy tomes The terms of developmental biology, as presented in Human Physiology (1856), by John William Draper, M D , derive from political economy

> An organism is not developed as we enlarge a house, by building part to part, but it all expands from one common centre. As the sphere of its expansion becomes greater, the opportunity arises for devoting different regions to different uses, and thus offices which were confusedly intermingled become separated out, and, as, in social undertakings, the division of labor gives greater perfection to the work, so in this, functions which, because they were blended, were imperfectly discharged, now assume precision and power, because they are disentangled from what were perhaps countervailing conditions (513-514)

Draper s emphasis upon the role that the organic development

of [illegible] plays
producing a more perfect organism explicitly recalls the role of a division of labor in producing a more perfect society

The rhetorical links between political economy and physiology/anatomy are frequently equally explicit Draper begins his examination of the human subject, for instance, with an examination of the "annual receipts and waste in man" (11). He commonly refers to the human system, in brief, as "the economy" (12, 17, 565) What Draper refers to simply as "the economy," Robley Dunglison, M. D., in Human Health (1844), refers to as "the living economy" (405) and Dr Andrew Combe, in Principles of Physiology (1855), identifies as "the animal economy"

> So beautifully is the animal economy constituted, that, as I have already repeatedly had occasion to observe, it is impossible to use rational means for the invigoration of one organ or function, without good being done to all, and so closely are the various parts allied to each other, that, to describe fully the functions and sympathies of any one, we would require to make the circle of the whole (90)

Like the political economy, the physiological economy emphasizes a division of labor in complex organization--Draper's developing organs work together toward a more perfect organism, and Combe's developed organs are functionally diverse but "allied to each other" so closely

that a physiologist cannot describe one with [illegible] the whole

More explicitly than political economy, [illegible] physiological economy links a perfected, or fully developed economy with health and physical beauty. In fact, it seems reasonable to assert that in the rhetoric of physiological economy, manly beauty, not manly passion, was a "leading" term in defining the nature of masculinity. Combe's description of the animal economy, quoted above, as 'beautifully" constituted is typical of physiological descriptions of healthy organisms. For instance, Anatomy of the Human Body (1844), edited by Granville Sharp Pattison repeats the terms of Combe's enthusiasm for the harmonious interaction of diverse organic parts.

> what ought to be the ardour in pursuing the study of man, that masterpiece of creation, where structure, possessed of both delicacy and strength, exhibits as much harmony in a whole, and displays so much perfection in its parts!
>
> And while contemplating this marvellous organization, in which all has been provided and prearranged with such intelligence and wisdom, that no single fiber can acquire the slightest addition, or undergo the least diminution of power, without the equilibrium being destroyed and disorder induced--what anatomist is there who would not feel tempted to exclaim, with Galen, that a work on anatomy is the most beautiful hymn which man can chant in honour to his Creator!
>
> May this work inspire among students an ever-increasing ardour for the study of the organization of man, which, even if it were not the most eminently useful, would still be the most interesting, and the most beautiful of sciences.

[illegible] human system [illegible]s a "beautiful [illegible]" [illegible]omy is the "most beautiful of sciences."

Even advertisements for [illegible] foremost Anatomy books commonly championed the extraordinary beauty of the books' contents as much as their accuracy. An ad for Erasmus Wilson's anatomy text, printed in the back of Wilson's book, emphasizes the number of engravings it contains and, not their accuracy, but their beauty. The "beauty" of the text's engravings comes up four times on the one page. This tendency is the more interesting as a result of the quality of the engravings--plain, utilitarian, and anything but typically beautiful. Perhaps anatomy's traditional reliance upon reproductions of classical statuary as anatomical models, as noted by Thomas Lacqueur, accounts for the profession's aesthetic sensibility. Either way, beauty's important role in marketing anatomical texts attests to the importance of the term to contemporary conceptions of the human body.

Draper's work is an exception that proves the rule. He directly refutes the aesthetic origins of physiology, arguing that physiology does examine models, but that physiology is a science to the extent to which it examines

[illegible] upon [illegible] ideal [illegible]

> [The role of physiology is, given the variations from the standard existing in any case, to determine the causes of those variations. At this point diagnosis becomes a science, and ceases to be an art
>
> As in painting and statuary, the artist has an ideal model in his mind, a typical standard which no living being has perfectly reached, though some of the most beautiful may have approached thereto, so in physiology the standard or typical man presents the combined and mean values of all the human race. (14)

Yet even Draper slips time and again into a rhetoric of aestheticism when describing the organization of the human system. "If such language may be used, the aim of Nature is to reach a certain ideal archetypa" (506). In contrasting the skeletons of a man, a chimpanzee, and an "orang," Draper notes, "Nature has availed herself [illegible] to establish a sort of scale from the inferior tribes to the most beautiful forms which are found in the human [illegible] (581). Even in the interest of science, apparently, it was difficult to deny that when fully developed and healthy the physiological economy was a beautiful system, one whose beauty recalled classical aesthetics.

Similarities between physiologic and economic principles extended beyond a simple, if surprising, sharing of terms. Physiologists theorized that the health of the human and beauty of the physiological economy specifically relied upon the economic system which was its environment

In Principles of Human Physiology (1847), for instance, William Carpenter, M. D , aims to show that the distinctiveiy varied shapes of the skeletona of races specifically results from the degree of economic diversification attained by that race "Among the rudest tribes of Men, hunters and savage inhabitants of the forests- a form of head is prevalent, which is most aptly distinguished by the term *prognathous*, indicating a prolongation or forward extension of the jaws" (86) Next, Carpenter examines "the nomadic races, who wander with their herds and flocks over vast plains" and who exhibit a bovinely "pyramidai skull [with] a more ample extension of the organs subservient to sensation' (87-88) These, Carpenter compares to the

> most civilized races, -those which live by agriculture and the arts of cultivated life,--all the most intellectually improved nations of Europe and Asia [They] have a shape of the head, which differs from both the preceding forms, and which may be termed *oval* or *elliptical* This at once approves itself as a more symmetrical form; no part having an excessive prominence, whilst on the other hand, there is nowhere an appearance of undue flattening or compression Among European nations, the Greeks have probably displayed the greatest symmetry and perfection in the form of the head. (88)

According to Carpenter, the formation of the skeletona of races is iinked, not to racial inheritance, but to the local level of economic organization Hunters and foragers have

wolf-like jaws. Shepherds have broad, rounded jaws. Men who combine agriculture with the arts of cultivated life, whose economy is balanced and diverse, have proportionally symmetrical heads. A round, Grecian head marked economic diversification and advanced civilization, as if they were one and the same thing.

For Carpenter, the "civilized" skeleton not only symbolically mirrors but also practically relies upon civilized people's greater access to varied nutritional resources.

> The connection between the general form of the body, on the one hand, and the degree of civilization (involving the regular supply of nutriment) on the other, is made apparent, not merely by the improvement which we perceive in the form, development, and vigour of the frame, as we advance from the lowest to the most cultivated of the Human races, but also by the degradation which is occasionally to be met with in particular groups of the higher tribes, which have been subjected for several generations to the influences of depressing causes. . . . "In Sligo and northern Mayo, the consequences of two centuries of degradation and hardship exhibit themselves in the whole physical condition of the people; affecting not only the features but the frame. . . . Five feet two inches upon an average, pot-bellied, bow-legged, abortively featured, their clothing a wisp of rags,--these spectres of a people that were once well-grown, able-bodied, and comely, stalk abroad into the daylight of civilization, the annual apparitions of Irish ugliness and Irish want. In other parts of the Island, where the population has never undergone the influence of the same causes of physical degradation, it is well known that the same race furnishes the most perfect specimens of human beauty and vigour, both mental and bodily." (90)

The anatomical degradation of the once beautiful, vigorous, and civilized Irish, Carpenter suggests, proves that Europeans can become as disfigured as less civilized races if they do not receive the varied nourishment which is intrinsic to producing healthy, beautiful, and civilized bodies

Draper repeats the terms of Carpenter's argument, beginning his chapter on "Social Mechanics" with the assertion, "It is acknowledged even by those who have given but a superficial attention to the subject, that there is a connection between corporeal development and historical career, that those races who have led the way in the course of civilization, and those who still remain in the savage state, are characterized by striking anatomical peculiarities" (602). Draper focuses his examination upon skin pigment and, like Carpenter, upon skeletal formation As society declines from civilization to savagery, he suggests, a corresponding "descent is made to the skull of the prognathous form, [and] the countenance loses those features which we regard as being beautiful, and assumes a baser cast . . . On the contrary, when the passage is made toward the elliptical form, the countenance becomes more beautiful and interesting, capable of expressing the most refined mental emotions" (588) Unlike Carpenter, however,

Draper does not cite a specific reason, like [illegible] nutrition, why diversified economy advances physical beauty. He links the "European" propensity for further physical improvement to the simple belief that

> whatever scientific discovery [the European] makes, or whatever invention occurs to him, he forthwith applies to economic advantage, and is thereby perpetually impressing a change on his own state. In this respect, even a single generation often suffices to show the advances which are made. We have only to recall the greatly improved means of locomotion; the instantaneous transmission of intelligence through many thousand miles; the development of industrial art, and the rendering available mechanical powers for many new purposes, which have been achieved in less than a century. (637)

The beauty of human physiology, for Draper, rises or falls with the strength and diversity of the local economy.

Even J. C. Nott, M. D., and George R. Gliddon, whose physiological theories squarely oppose Draper's and Carpenter's conclusions upon the origins of racial characteristics, agreed with Draper and his associates when it came to beauty. Morton and Nott distinguish skulls as Caucasian by their beauty--they find among ancient Egyptian remains an equal "proportion of beautifully moulded heads [as] would be found among an equal number of individuals taken at random from any existing European nation" (419), a "beautifully-formed head" and a "beautifully-developed forehead" (425). Indeed, Nott and Gliddon specifically

refute claims that "the 'beautiful' [is] likely to rise in Africa when the half-civilized mulatto becomes re-absorbed into the indigenous Negro population . . " (457). Unlike Carpenter and Draper, Nott and Morton do not directly link beauty to civilization or economy, but even Nott and Morton admit, "[W]e seldom quote works on the Natural History of Man, and simply for the reason that their arguments are all based on fabled analogies, which are at last proved by the monuments of Egypt and Assyria to be worthless. The whole method of treating the subject has been changed" (56). Despite the radical change they employ, even Morton and Nott identify the manly beauty of the Apollo Belvedere (see Fig. 1) as an ideal for Caucasians to strive for: "If we take a profile view of the European face, and

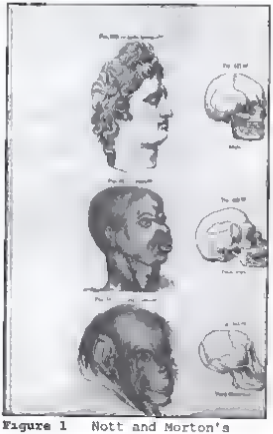

Figure 1 Nott and Morton's anatomical figures

sketch its outlines, we shall find the [illegible] horizontal lines into four equal parts . . . In the antique statues, the perfection of the beauty of which is justly admired, these parts are exactly equal; in living individuals slight deviations occur. " (415). As do mainstream histories of the physiological history of Man, even Nott and Morton assume balance and symmetry as the leading qualities of manly beauty

Henry Ward Beecher's Beecher's Lectures to Young Men (1849) suggests a logic for why a diversified and balanced economy promotes a balanced physiology, and produces an ideal masculine physique. Beecher argues that physical activity promotes good health

> Health is the platform on which all happiness must be built. Good appetite, good digestion, and good sleep, are the elements of health, and Industry confers them.
>
> The poor man with Industry, is happier than the rich man in Idleness; for labor makes the one more manly, and riches unmans the other. (24)

Economic health supports physical health because it rouses men to productive industry.

The argument makes the more sense given Reverend G. W Burnap's explanation of the effect of commercial interaction.

> Above all, it is commerce that stimulates production, and excites by rewarding to the utmost that labor, which is the purchase money of all earthly good. Savage man is cursed not so much by

> ignorance as by experience. . . . There is no way to rouse him to action so effectual as to show him the products of another's industry, which he can procure by redoubling his own (358)

Burnap's gloss of Smith's description of the first steps in civilization not only emphasizes the increased productivity and incentive to labor resulting from commercial interaction but also how it "stimulates," "excites," and can "rouse" workers--the once-savage men now feel commerce working in their (working) bodies. Beecher's comment makes the logical connection between physiology and political economy: industry/bodily labor was the best means to personal and economic health.

Finally, Combe's description of the role of muscular action in an animal economy translates Burnap's terms into a physiological context:

> The effects of exercise upon the organs employed are very remarkable, and useful to be known. When any living part is called into activity, the processes of waste and renovation, which are incessantly going on in every part of the body, proceed with greater rapidity, and in due proportion to each other. At the same time the vessels and nerves become excited to higher action, and the supply of arterial or nutritive blood and of nervous energy become greater.
>
> If the exercise be resumed frequently, and at moderate intervals, the increased action of the blood vessels and nerves becomes permanent, and does not sink to the same low degree as formerly; *NUTRITION rather exceeds waste, and the part GAINS consequently in size, vigour, and activity.* A limb which has been long in disuse becomes weak and shrivelled from this cause, and its muscles present an unusual paleness and flabbiness,

> strongly contrasting with the fl[illegible] rigid fulness [sic] of the muscles [illegible] exercised limb (119-120)

Called into action, the muscles of the body stimulate the circulation of nutrients in the body. The action supports itself. The increased circulation eliminates waste products and deposits nutritive material which fosters further activity, and so on. If the muscular action is constant, the muscle is strengthened and the circulation becomes permanent. When the muscular action is reduced or ceases, circulation falls, waste exceeds nutrition, and the muscles degenerate[2]. These texts, in short, suggest that human physical systems function analogously to economic systems and that human health advances or degenerates in conjunction with beauty, commerce, production, and civilization.

"Aesthetics is born as a discourse of the body," Terry Eagleton observes, as he opens The Ideology of the Aesthetic (1990). He means that a discourse of the beautiful developed in the eighteenth century to address classical philosophy's failure to confront questions of the sensible. Eagleton suggests that aesthetics links the ideal social/civic body of the nation to the particular body of the subject. It functions, in short, to merge the values of classical philosophy with those of commercial philosophy, to translate virtu to sympathy or fellow-feeling, to found a

bourgeois ideology:

> In economic life, individuals are structurally insulated and antagonistic; at the political level there would seem nothing but abstract rights to link one subject to the other. This is one reason why the 'aesthetic' realm of sentiments, affections and spontaneous bodily habits comes to assume the significance it does. Custom, piety, intuition and opinion must now cohere an otherwise abstract, atomized social order. (23)

As J. G. A. Pocock has observed, in the "increasingly transactional universe" of the eighteenth century virtu was redefined in terms of "a concept of manners" that were refined through multiplying commercial/social relations (50). The broad result of the redefinition was, to Pocock, the establishment of a defensible idiom of "commercial humanism" (50), to Eagleton, a theory of self-regulating social harmony that rationalizes/explains "self-government" in terms of commercial values. One might amend Eagleton's opening remark to, "The bourgeois body is born of aesthetics." As the physiological texts above have shown, the antebellum United States drew upon metaphors of political economy to present the bourgeois body as a civilized, commercial, and beautiful body.

"A Strong Golden Chain": Forging Tariff Policy

There must be a strong golden chain of direct commercial intercourse--conducted upon the avowed principle of helping one another--of giving, by free exchanges of the products of the skill, labor, and the varied soils and climates of our country, the highest possible development of

the capacities of each and all of these sources of national prosperity and independence. The vast extent of our territory, with its great diversity of skill, and labor, and soil, and climate, may be thus converted into an element of strength, and a pledge of permanency to our Union. It is thus, and thus only, that we can realize, in regard to this Union, the beauty and force of the application by a sacred writer to another union--of the delicate and admirably fitting dependence of the various members of the human body upon each other--neither being able to say to another, I have no need of thee, but each dependent on all the rest, and, although greatly diversified in form and in office, constituting one body, "compacted by that which every joint supplieth."

Vermont's Representative Slade, (August 11, 1842)

It was evident, by 1842, that free trade rhetoric accorded more seamlessly than protectionism with the rhetorics supporting the image of an aesthetic bourgeois body. Representative Slade's argument in favor of a protective tariff testifies to the rhetorical ascendance that anti-tariff forces had gained by 1842. Slade's pro-tariff speech advocates the principles of free trade; he links the organic "beauty and force" of the United States to the "direct commercial intercourse" and "free exchanges" between varied regions of the country. Ironically, Slade gave his speech to a Congress dominated, in 1842, by pro-tariff forces.

Abandoning the language associated with protection was a common exercise among pro-tariff politicians in the 1840s, though probably an exhausting one. Take the case of the complicated explanation made by Rep. Fornance of

> I have, at different times, seen my [illegible] in some of the Northern papers as a friend [illegible] protective tariff. I do not know what is understood at all times, and in all places, by a protective tariff. If, however, a protective tariff means an act of Congress, intended for the protection of individual enterprise--if it means a premium or bonus to some individual to enable him to carry on some business he may fancy, and which cannot exist without the assistance of Government--if it means a tax upon the people to support some favorite or favored branch of manufacture or labor, without any reference to the interest of Government either in peace or in war,--if this be a protective tariff, I wish to say, as plain as words can say it--I am not in favor of such a tariff--I am opposed to such a tariff. I cannot know what may be the opinions of honorable gentlemen in Congress or out of Congress, but I am forced to believe that such a protective tariff would be unjust, that it would be more than unjust--that it would be cruel and oppressive" (494, June 21, 1842).

Vermont's Rep Slade observed more plainly, "I have been surprised to observe how harshly the word 'protection' grates upon the ears of many gentlemen here" (545, July 11 and 12, 1842).

By 1842, leading protectionists promoted protective tariffs not to protect necessary manufactures but merely to raise necessary revenue. Rep. Appleton of Massachusetts began the closure of his address by observing simply, "I believe this bill will be very ample for revenue; in fact, I am of the opinion that some important articles will bear reduction" (576, July 5, 1842). "I repeat" said Kentucky's

Rep. Pope, "that the only questions for the consideration of an American Congress are, what revenue is necessary, and how it is to be levied, having due regard to equal justice to all, and the general prosperity?" (914, July 13, 1842). And Rep. Fillmore of New York claimed, "this bill should be considered only as a revenue measure."

When Rep. Roosevelt interrupted Fillmore, however, to ask Fillmore if he would lower a duty to achieve a higher revenue, Fillmore replied, "if there be any such case, point it out" but "[w]hile I am ready to reduce [tariff rates] to increase revenue, I am unwilling so to reduce any duty as to glut the market with the foreign product, and break down our own manufactures." (906, June 9, 1842). In short, as Roosevelt certainly suspected, protection remained Fillmore's (and the protectionists') primary consideration, although "only revenue" was his stated goal.

This strategy was successfully confusing. Rep. Smith of Virginia seems unable to choose between wonder and sarcasm as he endeavored to summarize his opposition's position, "I am aware, Mr. Chairman, that protection, as such, is not generally contended for. It is revenue only which gentlemen profess to desire" (720, July 9, 1842). And Georgia's Rep. Black vented his frustration to complain of semantic games, and

> that are [illegible] of 'revenue,' whether has ceased to be indicative in this hall of light burdens and economical expenditures. . . . A tariff for revenue' Why, the most ultra protectionist on this floor will talk to you now as flippantly about revenue as if he was imbued with the very spirit of the compromise act itself. Revenue is now the shibboleth of the high tariff party here (678, 680, July 7, 1842)

Some members of the Democratic party claimed to have heard that even Henry Clay had altered his opinions regarding the utility of protective tariffs (680)[3]

By 1842, so thoroughly had free trade rhetoric defeated protectionism that many protectionists directly advocated free trade policies. Sen. Rives of Virginia argues, "I believe free trade to be the true policy of all nations and I cannot doubt that each would find its highest advantage in it, if all would adopt it" (217, March 24, 1842). Rep Brown of Tennessee argues, "I have said if all Governments would adopt free trade as a system common to all, and all ports were thrown open to the free commerce of all nations, it might work well" (699, July 7, 1842). Brown and Rives, admittedly, are southerners, representing regions hostile to protection, but Rep. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania agrees with them:

> "[N]o one can be insensible to the persuasive doctrines of that freedom of trade which are now propagated by the most considerate and best informed political economists. No one can be more sensible to their truths than I am. It is the paramount interest of this country (as I conceive)

> [illegible] trade, by treaties introducing the reciprocity principle, and by tariffs imposing no duties but such as are absolutely indispensable" (644, July 11, 1842)

Illinois' Rep Stuart furthers the argument, "I am willing to admit that, in theory, such a doctrine has much plausibility, and, when laid down in speeches upon this floor, or in treatises upon political economy, there is much in it to captivate the imagination, and if all nations would act upon this doctrine, it might work well enough in practice" (860, July 9, 1842)

To advance the cause of the tariff, protectionists endeavored even to avoid the idea of "rhetoric" at all. Practice versus principles, a "just-the-facts" approach, often guided protectionist responses to free trade arguments. According to Nathan Appleton, "the compromise rested on no other basis than a false theory" (576, July 5, 1842). "Take the case of England," enjoins New York's Rep Hunt. "Her political economists have discoursed learnedly, and perhaps in the abstract correctly, of the beauties of free trade. . . . But the practical statesman of Great Britain, be he Whig or Tory, has for two hundred years, steadily practised upon the doctrine of protection" (875, June 20, 1842). Protectionists sometimes used reference "facts" simply to avoid free trade rhetoric, Connecticut's Sen Huntington remarks, "[I]t is not my purpose to discuss

at large the doctrines of free trade, and protection, [illegible] revenue. . . . I shall endeavor to be guided by facts--not a part of them only--but all which have a legitimate bearing upon the subject" (737, February 12-13, 1844). According to Maine's Rep. Evans, "We have nothing new in these matters but experience--fresher and fuller experience--and from that source alone, can the subject be invested with any new interest or attraction" (353, January 22 & 23, 1844).

Of course, posing as non-rhetoricians is itself a rhetorical pose: by "experience" and/or "facts," protectionists posed as practical men who opposed party-line demagoguery. But even the practical strategy was sometimes self-defeating. Vermont's Sen. Phelps employs it to illustrate free traders' impracticality, but in doing so he paints himself as an isolationist: "[W]e need the aid of no subtle speculation of theoretical philosophers, no imported theories from foreign nations" (339, February 16 & 19, 1844). Frustrated, Rep. Fornance of Pennsylvania complains of the flights of free traders' rhetoric: "Again: we are told of the beauties and blessings of free trade, of the advances of science and civilization; of the savageness of shutting ourselves up like the Celestial Empire, and Franklin is called upon for an argument in favor of free trade," only to close with the words, "I believe the

interest of the country needs a tariff, and I am willing to compromise much" (495, May 31, 1842). Whether the country required a tariff or not, protectionists necessarily compromised much to the persuasiveness of free trade rhetoric.

High tariffs rhetoric did afford protectionists opportunities to claim one positive rhetorical position: superior patriotism. They emphasized that they favored defending the country against an influx of British goods, hence their campaigns for "home industry" and "the American system." They pointed out that their opponents relied upon British theories of political economy. And they suggested that low tariffs would return the US to the colonial system, in which the colonies provided raw material to Britain in exchange for manufactured goods. Yet their assertions that they favored an "independent" United States were easily answered--"Independent of Great Britain! Politically we are, and ever will be so, but, in a commercial sense, I will never agree to reject her as a fair and honest customer" (Rep. Black, 687, July 7, 1842). Less easily answered were protectionists' suggestions that the United States must be able to arm itself in time of war: that argument preserved high duties on iron--indispensable for war--through the last years of the compromise act.

But this stand led protectionists to their most [illegible] rhetorical ground. Protectionists emphasized the possibility of war to encourage extending protection of a number of other industries (primarily hemp and wool), and they did so to an extent that sometimes highlighted their distortion of the tenets of political economy, and made them seem anti-social, militaristic, or un-republican. "We raise armies and build navies to defend our soil from the tread of hostile invaders," according to Vermont's Rep. Slade, "and yet, when the Government is called on to give that protection to industry which can alone make the soil worth possessing, it is instantly struck with a constitutional paralysis, and stands powerless and defenseless--a monument of republican imbecility and folly!" (Slade, 946, July 11-12, 1842). According to Rep. Bates of Massachusetts, "We need protection. . . . We want it as we want a sea wall--not that such a barrier is of any use when the sea is tranquil, but of great use when it is commotion; as the man of war wants a shield which is of no use to him when he is not assailed, but of great use when he is" (295, February 24, 1844). In the 1840s, when the major western powers were battling China out of political and commercial isolation, Bates' cause was less helped by his metaphor of a shieldwall than it was hurt.

Protectionists may have struck patriotic chords by comparing a high tariff's protection to sea wall's, a shield's, or the armed services', but the protectionists' metephors generally placed them squarely on the rhetorically negative side of the debate, a situation well illustrated by the arguments of Virginia's Rep. Summers.

> Free trade has been painted in all her beauties and attractions. [Rep. Pickens] has declared that discriminating duties and restrictions are incompatible with the age in which we live, and only suited to the era of the Chinese walls. He has described the march of improvement in political science, and the progress of free opinions in eloquent strains. He regards that great modern invention, the steam engine, as destined to bring instantly empires and kingdoms in juxtaposition with each other, and to unite all kindreds and tongues, wheresoever spread over the face of the broad earth, into one brotherhood, bound together by fraternal cords.
>
> So long as men is what man always hitherto has been--a selfish, covetous being, intent on what he esteems to be his own interest--I fear we shall have no such displays of his liberality and cosmopolite benevolence as has been described to us.
>
> There is nothing in the history of civilized and associated man upon which we can base any such anticipation. (913, July 9, 1842)

Summers accurately summarizes free traders' rhetoric. Free trader rhetoricians assumed the best of industry and humanity, protectionists', claiming that men are naturally avaricious and violent, assumed the worst[4].

Such a misanthropic argument must always score a somewhat pyrrhic victory. For protectionist rhetoric it

carried additional defeat [illegible] confirmed free trade arguments that the protectionists were avaricious capitalists Protection, according to free traders, was "a system of robbery and plunder upon the consumer for the benefit of the manufacturer" (Payne, 622, July 7, 1842). According to Rep. Thompson of Mississippi, protectionism was "a line of policy which plundered one portion of the people to enrich another, which gave bounties to one section, and burdens [sic] another" (640, July 12, 1842). Rep. Burke of New Hampshire calls protectionism "a stupendous system of robbery. . . . It illustrates the manner in which the wealth of a nation may be transferred, through the instrumentality of legislation, from the many to the few" (565, July 8, 1842). To Rep Hubard of Virginia, the tariff "is in fact a measure clearly intended to exact tribute from the mass of the community for the benefit of the few " He calls the Whig party, the "'plunder party'" (505, June 22, 1842)[5].

The contradictions that supported that characterization were clear On one hand, the Whigs encouraged Congress to beware Great Britain, who threatened to "have made our commerce, trade, and exchanges pay tribute to them," to leave us "with our merchantmen, to drift upon the ocean, an easy prey to their policy and cupidity" (Thompson, 959, June 20, 1842), and upon whom they insisted the country should

impose the "same chains which [illegible] were forged for us" (Brown, 858, July 7, 1842). On the other hand, the Whigs encouraged Congress to pass legislation like that enacted by "the practical statesmen of Great Britain." With a third hand, the Whigs protested, "I am for building up and maintaining an American commercial system, which is no narrow or selfish policy--a system which will cherish and protect, not manufactures only, but labor and capital in every department of business and enterprise" (Barnard, 873, July 6, 1842, my emphasis).

It was the third hand that free traders distrusted. That's the hand with which protectionists like Virginia's Rep. Summers coupled protection to both patriotism and the free trade. "Let us not feel that we are robbers on the highway, or pirates on the ocean, each eager to grasp what he can, but that we are citizens of the same Republic, sheltered and defended by the same glorious Constitution; that we are members and brethren of the same great family of leagued and confederated States" (914, July 9, 1842). That's the more persuasive way of putting it, but given protectionists' eagerness for retaliation against and imitation of the "practical statesmen" of protectionist Great Britain, the version of Maine's Rep. Evans seems more appropriate. "We have common and mutual interests which bind

us together and which cannot be severed. Bands stronger than iron or steel hold us in indissoluble connection" (715. February 6 & 7, 1844) Evans' militant language gives new and sinister meaning to the phrase "familial bonds."

The kind of bond that protection created between sections of the Union was a major focus of the tariff debate. Evans' description of that bond of iron and steel balances the description within the epigraph with which I have led this section, Vermont's Rep. Slade's determination that, '[t]here must be a strong golden chain of direct commercial intercourse--conducted upon the avowed principle of helping one another--of giving, by free exchanges of the products of the skill, labor, and the varied soils and climates of our country, the highest possible development of the capacities of each and all of these sources of national prosperity and independence." For Slade, the golden chain marks the "beauty and force" of the Union when it acts, as an "American System," with the unity of a healthy human body.

Thus, Slade's argument provides a basis for the naturalization of Evans' more obviously militant metaphor. Evans' "iron," however, undermines Slade's claim to the organic "beauty and force" that he ascribes to the American System. It raises the contradiction inherent to

protectionists' claiming that "It is no new thing for an English nation to speculate about the advantages and beauties of free trade" while simultaneously propounding the organic force and beauty of an "American System" at home (Thompson, 957, June 20, 1842, my emphasis).

Protectionists strove to de-emphasize this contradiction, but free traders carefully exposed it. According to Rep. McKeon of New York, "The effort to force manufactures is against the very nature of things. It is as unnatural as to force England to be an agricultural country" (707, July 5, 1842). Mississippi's Rep. Thompson asks,

> are we not all of one brotherhood? and does not the same Constitution, which brings us together in this hall, also make the citizen of Massachusetts at the same time a citizen of Mississippi, or any other State? If his investments in Massachusetts are unprofitable, is not the whole land open before him? And, upon that principle of nature, which abhors a vacuum, will not capital flow into that channel where it is wanted, till an equilibrium is produced? Is not this goodly land free to all? . . . Unfetter commerce, as far as possible, abolish restrictions on trade, enact laws bearing equally upon all, and you strengthen the arm, and enliven the enterprise of industry" (639, July 123, 1842)

Thompson recognizes Slade's "golden chain" as unnatural fetters that weaken by idling the arm of American industry/commerce.

Protectionists claimed that high duties would "electrify this entire nation into new life and energetic

action" (Randolph 824, June 20, 1842), but free traders marked the stimulus as unnatural/artificial. Sen. John Calhoun of South Carolina sounded this theme most stridently: the tariff will, he claims, "turn the exchange, artificially, in [the US's] favor" (773), cause "an artificial concentration of the specie" (773), allow a "local and artificial expansion to the currency" to manufacturing regions (774), and place the country in an "artificial condition" (775). The artificially induced economic activity Calhoun deems unsustainable, "for the great laws which regulate and equalize prices would, in time, cause, in turn, a corresponding falling off in the production of the article" (773), to the ruin of capitalists tempted into the protected industries. Still, Calhoun complains, "The cry has been protection after protection... one bottle after another, and each succeeding one more capacious than the preceding. Repetition but increases the demand, till the whole terminates in one universal explosion, such as that from which the country is now struggling to escape" (773, August 5, 1842).

Other free traders followed suit. According to Rep. Hastings of Ohio, "[The tariff] has a two-fold purpose: to stimulate certain productions artificially, and thereby to produce a large surplus, and indirectly to increase

taxation" (697, July 9, 1842). Rep. Clifford of Maine picks upon Calhoun's observation: "All experience has shown that [manufacturers] will not be content any longer than the artificial machinery of the system serves to enhance their profits at the expense of labor and industry" (676, July, 1842), and he predicts, "The artificial causes which produced our embarrassments will soon cease to operate, or will be overcome by the unbroken energies of the people, and the powerful action of industry and economy" (677, July, 1842). Virginia's Rep. Steenrod argues, "Under [protective tariffs, manufactures] are ever in an artificial state, never in a safe and sound condition, but always dependent on the protection of Government for their maintenance and prosperity" (552, June, 1842). Artificial stimuli, free traders, complained, finally hurt the economy more than it helped.

They argued that protection offered no real cure for domestic doldrums, but that it acted as a substitute for what they posited as the only real source of national wealth: industry and economy. "Manufactures," according to Rep. Steenrod, "reared under a system of protection, repose in that delusive security which begets a sloth and dependence that prevent all those improvements in machinery, and economy in production, which are essential to their

manent prosperity" (552, June, 1842). Rep McKeon of New York, "Why not, in the spirit of freedom, if not of patriotism, give up this attempt to live on governmental support? Why not trust to their own inherent powers of sustenance? If these be insufficient, they may be satisfied that they never can rest with security on the shifting sands of political agitation" (707). Free traders suggested that, instead of pleading for special legislation, manufacturers act like laborers and mechanics: "You have not found the hard-handed, the honest-hearted farmer, or the industrious mechanic, crowding your halls and begging for exclusive legislation" (Weller 633, July 8, 1842), and "[Mississippi] sends no petition for relief to this hall, and gives out no unmanly cry of suffering in the hearing of the country. Her citizens ask no legislative aid . . They wish now to be let alone" (Gwin 638, July 8, 1842). The American system, free traders claimed, fixed legislative rather than industrial muscle to accumulate profits; in so doing, free traders claimed, protectionists artificially inflated economy activity and undermined the labor that was the true source of value.

How successful this argument was is a matter of conjecture, but in 1844, when Rep McDuffie of South Carolina proposed a bill to reduce the duties of the tariff

[illegible]842 to a revenue standard, he foregrounded the argument that the American system dissipated industrial muscle by artificially channeling capital from one domestic interest to another. He does so by characterizing the American system as a deformed infant:

> [Rep. Evans of Maine] bears, therefore, in some sort, a parental relation to it, and I am not much surprised at this strong sentiment of regard manifested by that senator. It is well known that, of all the sentiments of the human heart, that which attaches a parent to his offspring is the strongest. . . . [T]he intensity of a parent's affection is increased, instead of being diminished, by those very deformities, physical and moral, which excite the horror of everybody else. Under the influence of this twofold sentiment, I do not wonder that the gentleman from Maine should be very unwilling to take off the veil which covers this gigantic infant in the cradle, and expose its horrible deformities. But, as the bill I have presented proposes to curtail these foul deformities--which that Senator no doubt regards as "fair proportions"--I proceed to examine and inspect his favorite offspring. And what is it but one of those moral monsters which had their origin in the genius of fabulous antiquity--in head and face, a man, body and tail, a fish. (105, January 19, 1844)

From this attack, McDuffie moves directly to describe the duties that he thinks are most unfair--including the 150% tariff on "most of the tools and implements necessarily used on every farm and plantation in the country" and 133.33% on salt, "consumed in almost equal quantities by the rich and poor, and extensively consumed by every farmer, not only for family purposes, but ten times more extensively for his live

stock" (105). According to McDuffie's statistics, the tariff taxes the poor disproportionately to the rich. These unfair proportions, the disproportionate figures, McDuffie exposes as "the prominent features" of the tariff (105). They constitute the American system's deformity.

McDuffie bookends his speech with references to the tariff as a monstrous offspring, closing by saying, "Sir, this monster of legislative injustice--this Mammon of eastern idolatry---can never be worshipped by an enlightened people, when stripped of his disguises; unveil his deformities, and his deluded followers, nor less than his victims, will shrink back with abhorrence" (109). And McDuffie punctuates the middle of his speech with a denunciation of the American system's leading claim:

> [T]his system has been vindicated [for its] tendency to increase the national independence . . . [but m]utual dependence between nations, created by the exchanges of an extensive commercial intercourse, is the highest state of political independence that can exist between the civilized nations of the earth. Mutual commercial dependence is mutual political independence. We have all learned, in our elementary school books, that the mutual wants and mutual dependence of individuals is the only foundation upon which the superstructure of the social state and of civil society could ever have been erected. But for that we should still have been savage barbarians. And, sir, it is this strong tie of mutual interests, this mutual bond, with heavy penalties, binding nations to keep the peace; this harbinger of civilization and herald of Christianity, that is the avowed purpose and inevitable effect of the protective system to

destroy [illegible]C

McDuffie sketches the American system's contradiction of the most elementary knowledge--that mutual dependence, interests, bonds, and wants found civilized society. McDuffie thus links all those who worship the "Mammon of eastern idolatry" to unenlightened primitivism. He implies that, although protectionists have made this unenlightened bill, the bill has made them primitive. McDuffie never descends to personal insults, but he implies that protectionists are both the fathers and the children of the unfairly proportioned American system.

Through his next two speeches on the tariff, McDuffie returns to this image briefly; he claims that overproduction, "is always the offspring of legislative restrictions, damming up the natural currents of trade." Soon thereafter, he says, "that domestic industry means manufacturing industry; that the only branch of domestic industry which adds to the national wealth, is that which requires a perpetual system of government bounties to sustain it. . . . certainly are bold assumptions; but they are the natural offspring of despotic power under all its forms" (143, January 29, 1842). In his closing speech, McDuffie refers to it not at all.

McDuffie's main opponents, however, dwell on the image Sen. Huntington of Connecticut opens his response to McDuffie with a complaint: "The argument of the senator could derive no support from describing it as a formless monster, oppressive, a bantling, having falsehood and deception stamped on its face, and deformities which excite horror--an idol worshipped by the men of the East. While these expressions could no [sic] good, they were calculated to excite feeling" (737, February 12 & 13, 1844). Given Huntington's careful enumeration of McDuffie's descriptions (twenty-three days after McDuffie spoke), the expressions seem to have excited at least Huntington. He closes his speech with another reference to paternity. "The whole people will eventually rally around it and give to it their hearty support, and will transmit to the latest posterity its diversified and rich blessings" (741). And in the middle of his speech, explaining away high duties upon hides, Huntington defends the equality and beauty of the American system: "And this furnishes a beautiful illustration of the mutual dependence of the different employments of human labor on each other. Divine Providence has, with infinite wisdom, created a mutual dependence between all the members of the human family. No one can say he is independent of the rest of the world" (738).

Huntington meets McDuffie's rhetorical point for rhetorical point, claiming that the American system is diverse and equal, that it will pass on beautiful illustrations of mutual dependence.

Huntington's repetition of McDuffie's charges lends them some legitimacy, though Huntington refutes them. On the other hand, Senator Evans of Maine, McDuffie's primary antagonist, responds to McDuffie through a typical Whig strategy; he claims that he will rely on facts, not figures of speech, to support his views. "I shall endeavor not so speak with any undue positiveness, not to betray any extreme earnestness in the opinion or arguments I may advance" (353, January 22 & 23, 1844). Although he speaks only three days after McDuffie, although it is Evans whom McDuffie principally attacks as the father of the deformed tariff, Evans is decidedly, determinedly, not excited by McDuffie's rhetoric. Evan he, however, quotes McDuffie's epithets; "he says it has 'fraud and deception stamped on the very face of it'--'that it was not designed for purposes of revenue, but for purposes of plunder'--'that it is destructive of commerce'--'that it is a foul and faithless violation of the compromise act"--and 'that it is a monster which only requires to be stripped of the veil which conceals it, to be universally execrated'" (354). Despite the quotation marks

Sen Evans places around the words he ascribes to Sen. McDuffie, McDuffie said none of those things. These figures of speech were invented by the determinedly sober-minded Evans

McDuffie's words were available to Evans; they were recorded by stenographers, and McDuffie would probably have made them available in the text of his speech. Moreover, Evans' paraphrases do catch the spirit of McDuffie's attacks. Still, Evans' inaccuracies undermine his claim that he will support the tariff by accurately presenting recorded experience, and they unsettle his claim that he speaks without "undue positiveness." And the fact is that only one of Evans' quotes is even nearly correct. Sen. McDuffie did claim that the bill has "falsehood and deception stamped on the very front of it." Evans quotes McDuffie as saying, the bill has "'fraud and deception stamped on the very face of it.'" Evans' mistake implies that McDuffie's attacks upon the appearance of Evans' "offspring" really did strike a nerve

Evans' refutation, however, seems more successful than the response of Sen. Bates, of Massachusetts: "If there be an abominable feature in it, that feature was fixed in it by southern votes," Bates asserts. Bates is describing the tariff of 1828, upon which the tariff of 1842 was modeled,

and which passed with southern votes. "If a monster [illegible] charges, "it crawled out of a stagnant pool in South Carolina. It has the palmetto stamp upon it inaffaceably" (255, February 21, 1842). Bates' share-the-shame approach is matched only Massachusetts' Sen. Choate's "bear-the-shame" strategy: "[W]hether it was wise or unwise to introduce such a system, by direct legislation, at first, it would be supreme madness now--now when the first stages are passed, when the evil, if any there ever was, is all done, and the compensations of good are just fairly commencing" (641, April 12 & 15, 1844, my emphasis). This is to say that, heretofore, the American system has done the country no good, at best. Indeed, Sen. Bates concedes, "[The factories] may not be the most favorable to physical development. Nor is the life of a student as favorable as that of a farmer. . . ." (256). Yes, these legislators from Massachusetts admit, the bill is deformed and the factories stunt our growth but. . . .

Northeasterners' concern for the health and beauty of their laboring population was a evident in their defenses of the prohibitive tariff, and a weak spot in their argument in favor of it. Their inability to frame a positive rhetorical response to defend the economic policies that supported their manufacturing interests complicated their efforts to

identify with the ideals embedded within political economy and physiology.

Negotiating Representations of Manhood

I endeavoured to calculate how much longer I could stay in the Custom- House, and yet go forth a man . To confess the truth, it was my greatest apprehension,--as it would never be a measure of policy to turn out so quiet an individual as myself, and it being hardly in the nature of a public officer to resign,--it was my chief trouble, therefore, that I was likely to grow gray and decrepit in my Surveyorship, and become much such another animal as the old Inspector.

Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Custom House," The Scarlet Letter (1850)

Hawthorne's account of employment as a custom house officer is an unusually overt linking of masculine self-representation to the lexicon of antebellum tariff policy. "It might be true, indeed," Hawthorne speculates, that this was a life which could not, with impunity, be lived too long, else, it might make me permanently other than I had been without transforming me into any shape which it would be worth my while to take . . [but] whenever a new change of custom should be essential to my good, a change would come" (219). Hawthorne indicates that his employment as an agent of the government, specifically as an agent of tariff policy, threatens to transform him unflatteringly, but he hopes for a "change of custom" to prevent the change.

To which of two extremes of masculine identity presented in the chapter will a "change in custom" link

Hawthorne? Will he become like the old Inspector, "the patriarch ... of all the respectable body of tide-waiters all over the United States," "a legitimate son of the revenue system," a "gourmand" whose happiness derives from "the rare perfection of his animal nature, the moderate proportion of his intellect, and the very trifling admixture of moral and spiritual ingredients, these latter qualities, indeed, being in barely enough measure to keep the old gentleman from walking on all fours" (2186)? Or will he become like the stalwart General "amid the unappropriate environment of the Collector's office," an aged man who "even in respect to grace and beauty (retained) points well worth noting" (2189)? Throughout "The Custom-House," Hawthorne's self-depiction vacillates between two economically inflected representations of masculine identity: manly beauty and the beast. A change of custom, Hawthorne suggests, will be better not only for the commerce of the country but also for the quality of the nation's manhood.

That northeastern economists and politicians could, and did, coherently and convincingly argue that a protective tariff benefitted the nation's economy is evident from the thirty-years and more during which the United States maintained commercial restrictions. That the maintenance of

a protective tariff challanged the terms of classical economy is equally evident. Yet, as Hawthorne's apprehension suggests, avan if tha rhetoric of economic theory really was shifting in tha Northeast, if aven the economic conditions were rapidly changing, the rhetoric of physiology and anatomy did not keep pace. The nineteen medical books that journals like The American Whig Review and Fisher's brought to the notice of their readers between 1845 and 1849 seem to testify to a concern for the impact of Northeastern economy upon physiology. In including the notices, the economic journals merely followed the advice that William A. Alcott gives to young men beginning careers:

> Young men ought to study physiology. It is indeed to indeed to be regretted that there are so few books on this subject adapted to popular use. But in addition to those recommended on page 346, there are portions of several works which may be read with advantage by the young. Such are some of the more intelligible parts of Richerand's Physiology, as at page 38 of the edition with Dr Chapman's notes; and of the 'Outlines of Physiology,' and the 'Anatomical Class Book," two works recently issued in Boston. (Young Man's Guide, 1849, 352)

True to Alcott's urging, during the same period, the two journals brought approximately the same number of books (18) concerning anatomy, physiology, or medicine to the attention of their readers as they did books concerning economy.

Physiology books acknowledged the attention of economic interests with occasional comments upon the physical

condition of the laboring classes. In "Sanitary Conditions of the Laboring Population of New York" (1845), John H. Griscom, M. D., advises that "Physiology, as applied to the laws of life, and the prevention of diseases, [should be] a subject of study in all our private, public, and common schools" (original emphasis, 55). In Primary Physiology for Schools (1848), Edward Jarvis M. D., dedicates one full chapter to discussing labor. In Human Health (1844), Robley Dunglison, M. D., reports that the "researches of able investigators have modified materially many of the views which had been generally entertained in regard to the salubrity or insalubrity of different callings" (111). In Principles of Physiology (1855) George Combe argues, it is the "infringement of this condition [that the animal economy is interlinked] that entails so much misery upon our young manufacturing population, and even upon many of the inmates of our boarding-schools" (97). Northeasterners schooled themselves and their schoolchildren to study anatomy and physiology, disciplines that linked economic conditions to physical systems and that infused the rhetoric of free trade into authoritative depictions of the healthy human system. As a consequence, even Northeasterners cited the authority of anatomy and physiology to question not only the economic

prerogatives but also the quality and the health and beauty of their region.

The Laboring Classes of England takes advantage of northeastern insecurities. It was written "in consequence of the curiosity manifested by almost every person with whom I have become acquainted in America, to know my history. . . A single glance at my person . . . is sufficient to awaken this curiosity in a country like America, where no such cripples are made by hard labor" (5). Published in Boston, written by "an Englishman" (William Dodd), The Laboring Classes of England (1848) is like most texts that address the impact of manufacturing upon the New England population--it focuses specifically upon the impact of monotonous, constant labor and poor ventilation upon the health of the operatives. Ironically, the physical ailments that factory workers were described as suffering, tuberculosis and physical deformity, embody the critiques of the protectionism upon which the factory system was based.

The English "cripple," for instance, suffers from a condition like rickets. He cites Dr. Samuel Smith to attribute his condition to having stood at his machine for twelve to sixteen hours a day.

> The effect produced upon the bones by too long standing, which I have particularly noticed, are the following. There is a beautiful arch of bone formed in the foot, on the middle of which the

> main bone of the leg is planted. . . . The weight of the bone being too long sustained in factory working, this wedge-like form is lost, the bones give way, fall in, and the elastic spring of the foot is forever gone. . . . The ligaments of the ankle then give way, and the ankle falls inwards or outwards, as the case may be. The ligaments of the knee-joint give way . . . [and] then the bones also bend. . . . (8)

Dodd describes a former factory operative who would, he says, have stood at least six feet tall but who now stands, on average, less than three feet tall--Dodd takes the average height because the man bobs, but Dodd precisely measures the man's chest, thirty-six and a half inches, his waist, thirty three and a half inches, and his arm span, seventy-four inches (12). In this, the man is archetypal: "A man of correct proportions will, in general, be about the same height as the length of his arms when extended. I have frequently seen cases of factory deformities in which the length of the arms thus, was six inches more than the altitude of the body, and in some cases eleven inches" (8). The symptoms of factory life are, according to Dodd, a lose of the beauty and the proportions of healthy limbs. The cause is that the men must over-employ one part of their bodies to the detriment of the entire system.

This description of the degradation of the skeletal systems of factory cripples is reminiscent of southern critiques of northeastern tariff policies. Protectionists

were accused of wanting to tax the South and West, who would have to subsidize northeastern industry by buying more expensive manufactured goods. Protectionism, the critics claimed, placed unfair burdens on the South and West, who lost economic power as the Northeast gained it: "Such laws may take from the one and bestow upon another, to the injury of the whole, but they cannot create wealth" ("Agricultural Prospects of S. Carolina, 121). Nor can they create health. Instead, they overburden one part of the country at the expense of other parts, "to the injury of the whole." The "crippled" physical systems of the English factory operatives reflect the unbalanced economic system of which they are a part.

Senator McDuffie's speech, for instance, recalls the title and topic of Edward Dixon's article "The Nature of Consumption" (1855) describing the means for maintaining personal health and beauty. In the article, Dixon describes many things McDuffie implies. He suggests that tuberculosis "often descends from the parents to the children" (75), that it is caused by prohibited circulation (74), and that fostered manufacturing produces unhealthy, deformed consumptives. "Some years since, on a visit to Lowell, we were struck with the unmistakable evidence of [consumption/tuberculosis] scrofular . in the faces of the factory

inmates "there was scarcely a healthy face there" (78). Finally, Dixon suggests the comparison which is implicit to McDuffie's attack, that manufacturing results in personal deformity: "Do we talk of beauty? I appeal to sculpture. The forms of classic art are the reverse of modern deformity. Not a modern shape is to be seen in all the sculpture of Italy" (79). Such authority invested attacks like McDuffie's and defences like Sen. Bates'.

"There can be no doubt that America is destined to become the first manufacturing country in the earth" (148), according to Dodd. The author of The Southern Quarterly's "Agricultural Prospects of S. Carolina" (July, 1845) echoes the sentiment: "The United States are destined to be the greatest manufacturing as well as the greatest agricultural country in the world" (141). By the 1840s there was no serious doubt that the United States, particularly the Northeast, would rely on manufacturing; the tariff debate concerned what kind of manufacturing nation the United States would become. Would it rely upon the "spontaneous" and "natural" growth of manufactures among its population, or would it, using the restrictive economic policies for which Britain was notorious, establish protective tariffs to rear domestic manufactures? Northeasterners worried over the quality of life of laborers in England not because they

worried about becoming a manufacturing region per se, but because they worried about violating the natural laws of commerce

Physiology authorized not only critiques of the level of physical beauty and health in the Northeast but also critiques of the corresponding degree of civilization in the Northeast. As I have argued above, physiological texts linked "beauty" to "civilization", conversely, they also linked degraded health/beauty to reduced degrees of civilization--hence Carpenter's physically deformed Irish, and Draper's depictions of nomadic tribes and hunter/gatherers as less beautiful than economically diversified races. "No race," Draper suggests, "is in a state of absolute equilibrium, or able successfully to maintain its present physiognomy, if the circumstances under which it lives undergo a change. It holds itself ready, with equal felicity, to descend to a baser, or rise to a more elevated state, in correspondence with those circumstances" (565). The same rhetoric which linked commerce, production, and civilization to physical health/beauty also linked regulated commerce to waste, savagery, sickness, and specific forms of physical deformity

Draper's theory or degradation suggests that the Hawthorne's gourmandizing old Inspector is a good example of the kind of degeneration to be expected from immersion in an economy, like Great Britain's, renowned for protecting its manufacturing. "Even in the large European cities we recognize the incipient steges of [social degradation] in those classes who follow a precarious life--the projecting jaw, the retreating forehead, the mouth habitually open, or the lips parted so as to show the teeth" (587). The denizens of English cities, Draper implies, are degenerating to the lowest form of economic organization--a savage or hunter/gatherer organization characterized by a well-developed jaw. As the citation which immediately follows this comment indicates, the degraded and wolf-like class Draper describes results from a Manchester-like manufacturing system. "'I stood in Oxford Road, Manchester,'" a Mr Thackrah comments. "Here I saw, or thought I saw, a degenerate race--human beings stunted, enfeebled, depraved'" (587). If this is the logical result of Britain's notorious policies of trade regulations--the colonial system that the United States once rebelled against--what would be the impact of trade regulation upon the workers of a region now following in Britain's economic footsteps?

Were Northeasterners, in Rep. Shepard's terms, animals who exchange or plundering animals? Commonly, critiques of northern trading policy depict participation in the northeastern economy as participation in what most Americans recognized as the most savage of savage qualities: cannibalism. For instance, Josiah Warren's Equitable Commerce (1846) describes the effect of monopoly upon trade relations:

> The value of a loaf of bread to a starving man, is equivalent to the cost of his life, and if the "price of a thing" should be "what it will bring," then one might properly demand of the starving man, his whole future life in servitude as the price of the loaf! But, any one who should make such a demand, would be looked upon as insane, a cannibal.

Likewise, John Pickering's The Working Man's Political Economy (1847) describes the impact of monopoly upon labor in terms which recall Warren's and Radical's assessments. "[A]ye, give up your very manhood, and become the pliant, abject, crouching, cringing slaves to all absorbing, monopolizing, gormandizing, all-consuming Capital, whose everlasting cry is income, income, more income. . [and who are] pulling and tearing each other to pieces. (21) It's not far from this image to the cannibalism described in Warren's work, and Pickering invokes cannibalism several times later in his tract: "The just rent for the use of anything, is an equivalent for whatever portion is used or

consumed by him that uses it--no more. Anything demanded beyond this, is tyranny, oppression, cannibalism" (163). Free laborers, according to George Fitzhugh's Cannibals All! (1857), are "'slaves without masters,' the little fish who were food for all the larger" (39). Fitzhugh, a southerner defending slavery, cleverly crystallizes northeastern self-recriminations. "You are a Cannibal! and if a successful one, [you should] pride yourself on the number of your victims quite as much as any Fiji chieftain, who breakfasts, dines, and sups on human flesh" (16). The apparent pleasure with which Fitzhugh labels all capitalists cannibals testifies to his confidence that southern capitalists, who could point to the cooperative nature of their commercial economy, could afford such a characterization, but that northern capitalists, who relied upon regulated trade, would find it difficult to refute.

Despite the popular focus upon labor as victimized or cannibalized, then, the victimizers were likewise enmeshed in a commercial system whose operation could be seen as deforming or degrading them. The most familiar representation of successful capitalists' bodies contrasts their well-fed condition to labor's starved body. The characterization implies that capitalists profit inordinately from commercial relations, thereby threatening

the health of the laborers, but the capitalists' girth does not mark hearty good health--it represents one of the physical deformities that derives from unbalanced commercial relations. The system of wage-earning, as Fisher's describes it, provides a means by which a beginning capitalist invests the labor of his body as capital:

> We have seen before, it is only accumulated values of capital which can pay for the personal labour of those who, with sound limbs and fair skill, are desirous to work, and, if possible, to save of their wages some small amount, which they, in turn, may invest productively, and accumulate as their property. (Lieber 95)

The criticism implied in the characterization of capital as well fed and labor as starving suggests that this symbiotic relationship has broken down; it critiques not capitalism, but the antagonistic quality of this particular kind of relationship.

"Conversations with a Radical," a series of articles run in The Boston Quarterly Review, elucidates the characteristics of capitalists being critiqued by descriptions of them as inordinately well fed. First, the character identified as "Conservative" repeats the terms of Fisher's description of the symbiotic relationship between labor and capital:

> When I employ you as a common laborer. — — — [y]our investment is less than mine. You invest merely your bodily strength and activity, while I

> invest house, barn out-house, land, oxen, horses, sheep, and hogs, together with my own labor, bodily or mental. Now as my investment is more than yours, I ought to receive a larger portion of the gains. Your share is called your wages. . . . (January, 1841, 39)

Radical has no answer to Conservative's description of capital's right to a greater share of the profits; it closes out the conversation for that quarter, and April's conversation begins with Radical admitting, "That was an ingenious argument with which you closed our conversation yesterday" (137). Apparently, even a Radical must agree that this is a proper relationship for capital and labor.

Nonetheless, Radical's characterization of the relationship suggests that it presently does not function symbiotically because the capitalists, not the laborers, have degenerated into predatory creatures:

> The wolf certainly has no disposition to destroy the race of lambs. Nor do I blame the wolf for making his dinner of lamb. It is his nature to do it. Nor do I blame the accumulator for transferring the profits of the workingman's labor into his own pockets. It is his nature to do it. He could not be an accumulator if he did not. What I complain of is that there are wolves, or accumulators of wealth, separate from the producers of wealth. (April, 1841)

Radical's characterization of the "nature" of capitallets as wolf-like recalls Draper's characterization of the physically degraded laborers whose lips are perpetually snarled and whose teeth are constantly bared. Radical

gently reminds conservative that the wolf could become a lamb, could join the workingmen, without giving up his desire for accumulating goods. To do so would be to repeat the first step in advancing the social contract which founds civilization--to freely exchange goods of equal values, thereby encouraging both parties to future production[6] and enrichment. Conservative refuses.

The exaggerated girth of the manufacturers marks both their voracious appetites for profits and the anti-social trading habits associated with the Northeast's advocacy of the protective tariff. "no sooner had . . . the manufacturer received his share of the profits, than the odious cry of the poor against the rich was again got up to crush the rising prosperity of this demagogue-ridden country" a Mr. Cresson from Pennsylvania argues. "[N]ow, those skilful and persevering men [the manufacturers] . . . are branded as bloated monopolists" (Cresson 1107)

The girth, or "bloat," which might seem to indicate the manufacturers' health, as compared to the crippled condition of the starved laborer, marks the equally voracious and unhealthy quality of the manufacturers' participation in an economically unbalanced society. The Harbinger, a weekly journal produced by the Brook Farm Associationists, cites physiology to lament the condition not merely of factory

operatives but of the entire society. "We are a nation of flat chests and round backs, cramped gait and pale faces. Our brains and stomachs are overworked, and other limbs and organs are neither trained, or called upon to contribute strength to the system. The consequence is, we are inferior to most nations of the world in manly beauty" (original emphasis 239).

Northeastern beauty fell short when compared with the beauty of most nations, but it fell especially short when compared to the seat of western civilization, Ancient Greece, and to the country which Northeasterners recognized as having inherited Grecian values, Italy. In an article titled "The Italian Peasantry," The Harbinger asserts, "The personal appearance of this people [the Italian Peasantry] is remarkable, from its resemblance to the 'finest pisantry on earth.' The men are fine-formed, but relaxed by their climate. . . ." (121). The American Review extends the terms of The Harbinger's comparison, indicating that compared to Italians, northeastern men seem uncivilized because their propensity to trade for profit prevents them from even recognizing manly beauty.

> Compare one of our farmers or mechanics with an Italian in a similar position. The snug and thrifty life of the American finds no counterpart with the Italian. But the refinement of the tastes and sensibilities of the latter is easily wanting in the former. Introduce the American

> into the presence of the Apollo di Belvedere; and he sees nothing but the figure of a naked man cut in dingy marbie, fractured, scarred and defaced in sundry places, which, if he thought he could make a good speculation out of it, he would consider buying--otherwise he can see no use in it. Place the Italian before the same statue; and, though he may be poor and ignorant and perhaps never read a newspaper in his life, his bosom swells with irrepressible emotions, his eyes brighten and his soul seems going forth to communa with the glorious idea of beauty and majesty which for him is embodied in that same dingy marbie. And say, which of the two minds is the more cultivated and fine? which is the more truly civilized? Both are men. Both have the same nature. . . But again, we may prefer our thrift to the Italian's taste as much as we please; yet let us not therefore claim to be more civilized. (35)

Linked to Northeastern men's penchant for economic speculation--their "thrift" and their desire to make a speculation of the Apollo di Belvedere--is their deficiency in civilized qualities and their utter failure to appreciate the manly beauty illustrated by this, the nineteenth-century's most celebrated of Greek statues'. Were this representation a slight framed by southern journals, it might be less surprising, but it comes from The American Review: A Whig Journal.

Not surprisingly, comparisons of modern northeastern bodies to ancient Grecian bodies were grounds for the wringing of hands or for renewed commitments to personal physical regimens. In one of a handful of footnotes to Dr Andrew Combe's Principles of Physiology, the American

editor [illegible] asserts, "The physical capacity of the moderns is greatly inferior to that of the ancients, because they cultivated this quality; and equal cultivation by the moderns will give them also equal physical capacity" (104). Whet Rev. Henry H Bellows calls the "Influence of the Trading Spirit upon the Social and Moral Life of America" (1844) culminates in pallor and physical decrepitude rather than in manly beauty: "[A]s a race, the commercial population is dwindling in size, and emaciated in health, so that pallor [sic] is the national complexion. [and the] physician must labor day and night to repair bodies never well from over-exertion, over-excitement, and over-indulgence" (35-36).[8]

The regional representation of the commercial population repeated the terms of the critiques leveled by free traders against protectionists--the nature of the Northeast's economy, at odds with the nature of the physiological economy, sapped the region's physical health and beauty. Often, as in Bellows' example, it was the physician, not the economist or politician, who was called in to counter the deleterious impact of the economy upon the health of members of the "commercial population" of a region in which "commerce" was increasingly associated with

protectionism and its related terms: competition, rapacity, social isolation.

The sense of Northeasterners as "naturally" competitive and economically aggressive, then, was constructed in part through the region's contradictory allegiance both to a manufacturing economy which relied upon regulated trade and a physiological economy which privileged free trade as a mark of health, civilization, and economic efficiency. Northeasterner's enthusiasm for manly beauty and their apprehensive lament for their lack of it suggests a rift in the region's sense of itself--one which repeats Hawthorne's sense of a divided self. To participate in commerce of the northeastern economy, as Fitzhugh's critique suggests, is to cite the associated terms of savagery, cannibalism, and physical deformity, and to have limited representational resources to refute them. Even to identify oneself as manly and beautiful was to cite the related terms of savagery, cannibalism, and physical deformity--and within the terms of the Northeastern economic policies, to find significant support for the association. It was, in short, to call attention to one's inability to support such a self-representation.

Clearly, such characterizations have nothing to say about the relative health/beauty of northeastern bodies;

Instead, they address, to paraphrase Louis Althusser, not the real conditions of existence in the Northeast but the imaginary relationships of individuals to their real conditions (162). They indicate, in short, purely imaginary relationships, but relationships that affected the self-representations of those who cited the rhetorics of classical political economy and physiological economy to identify themselves as "Northeastern." Given the link between free trade and manly beauty, "Northeasterners'" advocacy of regulated trade complicated their identification with manly beauty and with trade in general. Encrypted within linked but contradictory rhetorics, "Northeastern" was neither one thing nor the other.

The chapters which follow examine Northeastern men's convoluted attempts to present coherent identities through competing economic rhetorics. They explore either the depiction of a young man "coming of age" or the presentation of a masculine, first-person, autobiographical "I." In fashioning a masculine self that cites the terms of political economy, each character responds to the contradictory rhetorics differently. William Gilmore Simms, the only southerner I discuss, portrays his southern heroes as manly and beautiful, representatives of southern free trading. Henry David Thoreau aggressively re-invigorates

the language of free trading as a physiological and economical lesson to his Concord neighbors. Like Hawthorne, Herman Melville "dismisses" the quandary of masculine self-representation, Melville retreats to a domestic space fantasized as transcending economic rhetoric. James Fenimore Cooper and Francis Parkman defensively re-invigorate manly beauty, but in terms of savage competition. The aestheticism of their forms relies upon their rockhard physical toughness, a shift from the marble physique of the Apollo Belvedere.

Notes

1. Interestingly, the Northeast stoutly resisted the protective tariff as destructive of commerce, upon which New England relied for its wealth. The South and mid-Atlantic states passed the protective policy with no votes from Massachusetts.

2 Combe does explain the process, more generally, in the context of an "animal economy":

> In every part of the animal economy, the muscles are proportionate in size and structure to the efforts required from them; and it is a law of nature, that whenever a muscle is called into frequent use, its fibres increase in thickness within certain limits, and become capable of acting with greater force and readiness, and that, on the other hand, when a muscle is little used, its volume and power decrease in a corresponding degree. When in a state of activity, the quantity of blood which muscles receive is considerably increased; and in consequence, those which are much exercised become of a deeper red colour than those which are less used. (97)

By their contraction, large muscles abet blood flow simply by pushing it through the body, but their size also increases their demand for blood, stimulating blood flow. A

well-muscled person, then, would have good circulation. He would not be pale and sickly, and he would have greater access to the terms of manly beauty. Combe uses the anatomical figure below to describe the action of a muscle. "When the *sterno-mastoid* muscle *f g* contracts, its extremities approximate, and the head, being the moveable point, is pulled down and turned to one side. This may be easily seen in the living subject, the muscle being not less conspicuous than beautiful in its outline" (101). The anatomical figure, with its Apollo-like stance, indicates what underglrds the extraordinary power and beauty of the fleshed Apollo

3. Not all Whigs were skilled at playing semantic games. Rep. Smith of Indiana makes a similar slip. "[T]he question is, whether we shall protect our own monopolies (if you please to call them so,) which buy and consume our produce in exchange for their manufactured articles" (275, March 3, 1842, my emphasis).

4. Another good example of the protectionists' comparatively negative rhetorical position is Maryland's Rep. Selier's prediction of his opponents' response to his speech in favor or retaliatory tariffs.

> But, Mr. Speaker, every proposition which has as its object the protection of the industry of the country, is opposed by some empty theorist who prates to you about the beauties of free trade; and I suppose my proposition for retaliatory duties will be subjected to the same opposition. How supremely ridiculous it is to ask of this government to adopt the principles of free trade, when the people of this country are literally preyed upon by the cormorant governments of Europe! (225, December 21, 1841)

5. Free traders relied upon the tenets of classical political economy to claim that protection supported "plunder" in three ways. The free traders claimed that high duties on imports were paid by exporters (in this case, mostly the South), who exchanged their produce for imported goods whose value the tariff inflated. This meant that the South paid the lion's share of the federal taxes. Free traders also suggested that high duties on imports led exporters to demand payment in specie, inciting capital accumulation. Surplus specie depreciated labor and property

values, hitting the agriculturalist South harder than the North. Finally, free traders claimed that tariff duties discouraged imports, diminished competition, and forced them to buy from domestic manufacturers-- that tariff policy legislated monopolies. This allowed northern manufacturers to accumulate cash at agriculturalists' expense.

6. Such a threat is precisely the danger which Henry Ward Beecher counsels young men to understand and accept:

> A bankrupt may fall into the hands of men whose tender-mercies are cruel. . . . they all rush upon him like wolves upon a wounded deer, dragging him down, ripping him open, breast and flank, plunging deep their bloody muzzles to reach the heart and taste blood at the very fountain. . . . (61)

Incredibly, despite the violence of the butchering of a bankrupt, the mauling is identified merely as "relentless justice" induced by "rivalry among creditors, lest any one should feast upon the victim more than his share (my emphasis 61). If, on one hand, we may pity the butchered bankrupt, we must respect the butchers' right to feast. Beecher's tone suggests that the bankrupt has risked his body, and he has lost fair and square. The butchers have as much a right to devour him as the capitalist has to collect his share of the profits.

7. Johann Joachim Winkelmann is the eighteenth century critic whose critique of the Apollo di Belvedere is most famous and most frequently cited. "Our nature will not easily bring forth such a perfect body as that of Antinous Admirandus nor our minds conceive anything beyond the more than human proportions of a beautiful deity such as that of the Vatican Apollo [di Belvedere]" (21). Throughout the better half of the nineteenth century, this Apollo was thought the most beautiful of Ancient Greek statues. Winkelmann's thinking about the Greeks is likewise repeated in artistic, economic, and medical circles. He believed that the Greeks' mild climate and culture emphasized physical beauty successfully enough to enhance the natives' looks. "Moreover, everything that was instilled and taught from birth to adulthood about the culture of the bodies and the preservation, development, and refinement of this culture through nature and art was done to enhance the natural beauty of the ancient Greeks. Thus we can say in that all probability their physical beauty excelled ours by far" (11).

s Bellows' article closes with a description of broken northeastern bodies, but Bellows laments not only their loss of health but also their loss of beauty: "[W]hile trade is destined to free and employ the masses, it is also destined to destroy for the time much of the beauty and happiness of the land" (95). The ensuing arguments emphasize what may not be immediately clear here--that the beauty and happiness "of the land" refers to the mood and aesthetic appearance of the commercial population of the land. Bellows frames his attack as being upon trading as a whole, but his argument singles out trade's tendency towards accumulation. "The laboriousness of Americans is beyond all comparison, should we except the starving operatives of English factories."

A man's life with us does consist of the abundance of the things which he possesseth. To get, and to have the reputation of possessing, is the ruling passion" (95-96). The trading spirit which Bellows attacks, a spirit of accumulation for the sake of accumulation, is distinct from the portrayal of commerce as a beautifying and civilizing force. According to Bellows, northeastern loss of "beauty and happiness" derives not from trade per se, but from a spirit of trading which is stimulated by the desire to get, and to have.

Similar critiques abound. For example, T. S. Arthur's Rising in the World, published in 1856, charts the lives of two men of roughly equal prospects. One becomes a lawyer and strives to develop social prestige by amassing monetary assets. The other becomes a doctor who cements his claim to superior social prestige by closing the book operating on his fallen rival, whose health, status, and looks had deteriorated badly but whose final predicament is brought about by an anonymous gunman--presumably, a peril of fast living. Not even the doctor can save him.

CHAPTER 3
MANLY BEAUTY AND REGIONAL HEROISM
JAMES FENIMORE COOPER'S THE DEERSLAYER, OR, THE INLAND SEA AND WILLIAM GILMORE SIMM'S THE YEMASSEE

In William Gilmore Simms's "The Writings of James Fenimore Cooper," Simms critiques the heroic figures of James Fenimore Cooper's fictions as being too individual:

> This mode of performance is highly dramatic, and thus it is that [Cooper's] scout, his trapper, his hunter, his pilot, all live to our eyes and thoughts, the perfect ideals of moral individuality. For this we admire them--love them we do not--they are objects not made to love. . . ." ("Views and Reviews" 219).

To the extent that Cooper's heroes maintain "that degree of commerce with their fellow beings, which suffice to maintain in strength the sweet and sacred sources of their humanity" (219), however, Simms praises Cooper's heroes as both beautiful and manly:

> But manhood, true manhood, is a sight, always, of wondrous beauty and magnificence. The courage that looks steadily on the danger, however terrible; the composure that never swerves from its centre under the pressure of unexpected misfortune;--the knowledge that can properly apply its strength, and the adroitness and energy, which, feeling the force of a manly will, flies to their task, in instant and hearty obedience,--these form a picture of singular beauty, and must always rivet the admiration of the spectator. We regard Mr Cooper's "Pilot"--breasting the storm,

> trled by, and finally baffling all lts powers, as the Prometheus in actlon---inflexible, ready to endure,--lsolated, but stiil human in fond ioyalty to all the great hopes and interests of humanity. Hawkeye, the land sailor of Mr. Cooper, is, with certain suitable modifications, the same personage. (22i)

Cooper's heroes, to Simms's perspective, are isolated, but they are manly, magnificent, and beautiful as they maintain the "sweet and sacred sources of their humanity" and buttress their ioyalty "to all the great hopes and interests of humanity" through a "degree of commerce with their fellow beings."

Simms's reading of the manly beauty of Cooper's Natty Bumppo repudiates the description of him given by another authoritative critic, James Fenimore Cooper. In fact, the preface of The Deerslayer specifically enjoins the reader to admire the extent to which Natty Bumppo rejects beauty as a component of his manhood:

> In this book the hero is represented as just arriving at manhood, with the freshness of feeling that belongs to that interesting period of life, and with the power to please that properly characterizes youth. As a consequence, he is loved, and, what denotes the real waywardness of humanity, more than it corresponds with theories and moral propositions, perhaps, he is loved by one full of art, vanity, and weakness, and loved principally for his sincerity, his modesty, and his unerring truth and probity. The preference he gives to the high qualities named, over beauty, delirious passion, and sin, it is hoped will offer a lesson that can injure none. (ix)

Cooper insists that in achieving manhood Natty prefers the

high qualities, "his sincerity, his modesty, and his unerring truth and probity," to what seem to qualify as low qualities, "beauty, delirious passion, and sin." How could two authors come to such opposite conclusions about the leading, and trailing, qualities of Natty Bumppo's manhood?

Simms's rhetorical conflation of manly heroism with manly beauty reflects the impact of the rhetoric of free trade on representations of "the South." Likewise, Cooper's refusal to see or to consciously represent Natty as beautiful indicates the impact of protectionism upon representations of "the North." The work of William Gilmore Simms, especially The Yemassee, offers an example of the rhetorical link between a southern hero's dedication to commerce and his access to images of manly beauty. Conversely, James Fenimore Cooper's The Deerslayer--through his troubled, ambivalent, and finally self-defeating attempt to re-imagine heroic manhood as beautiful in the Northeast--repeats the contradictions inherent in northern advocacy of protective tariffs and dedication to progressive civilization.

As regionally focused, popular historical novels, Simms's The Yemassee (1835) and Cooper's The Deerslayer (1841) depict histories which buttress regional identity.[1] Simms's The Yemassee romanticizes the English settlers' 1715

conflict with the Yemassee tribes in South Carolina. Cooper's The Deerslayer invents the plausible fiction of a Huron raid upon an outlying settlement on the Otsego in New York. "It is a matter of history," Cooper asserts, "that the settlements on the eastern shores of the Hudson, such as Claverack, Kinderhook, and even Poughkeepsie, were not regarded as safe from Indian incursions a century" (2).[2] Each of these texts presents these historical events as a dramatic backdrop to its main character's ascension to manhood. The Deerslayer's Natty Bumppo earns the name Hawkeye, which will stick with him through his life and define his maturity. The Yemassee's Charles Craven reveals himself as the Governor of the colony, proving his title to the post by saving the settlers and winning Bess Matthews despite posing as the socially unknown "Gabriel Harrison." Both texts parallel the white settlement of the region with the regional hero's ascension to manhood.

Southern heroes were, according to Michael Kreyling, "the linchpin of a powerful social, historical, and psychological myth, which supports the unanalyzed structures of individual and group awareness." Kreyling marks the health, symmetry and vertical organization of the southern hero's body as cultural memes, recognizable signs which indicate the social function of maintaining order and peace

(11) The very bodies of southern heroes--their shapes, carriages, and adornments--incarnate values, like the cavalier or yeoman ethos, that shaped the South's understanding of its identity as a region. Although Simms's antebellum southern heroes are, as Kreyling suggests they should be, commonly symmetrically formed, healthy, and tall, Simms's works also associate manly beauty with southern heroism. Rayner, of "The Last Wager" (1845) is described as "well made, youthful, manly, and with a masculine grace and beauty" (120). Harry Vernon of The Border Beagles (1840) is admired by Rachel as a figure of "manly grace and beauty" (276) for his "finely formed and expressive features--expressive even while overspread by a pallor such as that of death--the softness and fineness of his skin, the small, sweet mouth, and the flowing locks of hair, which escaped in small, single ringlets from the confining cap which he wore, but which had been displaced by the motion of the carriage" (190). Sweet, soft, fine, flowing and small, Harry Vernon remains, as Simms describes him, "just the sort of person to commend himself to the southern and western people" (25). Of Gabriel Harrison, described in The Yemassee as combining "manliness with as much of beauty as might comport with it" (28), Louis Rubin makes a similar point: "As [Simms] saw it, in other words, it was possible for a man [Harrison] who was

an effective leader of middle-class settlers, a vigorous fighter, intelligent and able to outthink his savage foes, and thus a person of proven practical virtues, to be the lord palantine, thus fulfilling the social assumptions of the romantic love story as well as those of the action plot" (122). What role did the manly beauty of the southern hero play in consolidating southern identity?

I will argue that the representation of the southern hero as beautiful, in the works of Simms, at least, incorporates the leading rhetoric of the South's resistance to the federal tariff policy. Ritchie D. Watson argues that the South's embrace of an "aristocratic myth" derived from a sense of "cultural and political isolation. . . exacerbated by the eventual merging of midwestern with Northern economic interests, a union ordained by such technological triumphs as the completion of the Erie canal, tying the Great Lakes region with New York, and by the subsequent forging of numerous east-west rail links between the Midwest and the Northeast" (108). Yet Watson does not explain why the aristocratic ideal offered southerners a means of resisting the economic and cultural isolation he describes, and he does not explain why the aristocratic ideal, in particular, developed from such resistance. The represented body of the southern aristocratic hero figures commerce, civilization,

and manly beauty as manly traits that mark him as specifically "southern."

Manly beauty figured in the socioeconomic arguments with which the South advocated federal economic policies to support agricultural interests. Simms's The Social Principle (1843), an oration delivered to the Erosophic Society of the University of Alabama, is characteristic of the arguments. Simms describes the social principle as the basis of "the well-ordered and compact social system, which had trained [the British colonists] to a feeling of the vast importance, in all enterprises, of mutual obligation and support" (17), but Simms's social principle has a hard economic basis. The colonists' social principle is stimulated by their establishment of homes, which Simms identifies as a magnet for the accumulation of personal property:

> It is because that thing is his own; and it is partly to the veneration shown by British law to the British land-holder, that this lesson, teaching the profound value of the homeland to the meanest of Britain's sons, has served to make compact her social institutions, while the world around her was threatened with overthrow. To the same valuable lesson, we ascribe the passion of the Englishman and the American to be the owner of land,--each to have his little peculium,--his home,--in the language of the domestic proverb, "however homely." Having security in the homestead, with that feeling of dignity which a conscious permanence of position inspires,--and a further appreciation of the vast importance to civilization of a community, at once stationary,

> yet susceptible of progress,---and how naturally does the man improve his condition Compare, with this idea in mind, the comfort of an English home with that of any other people (18)

In short, by protecting the rights of homeowners, British law encourages the accumulation of non-transportable goods, which further advances the homeowners' investment in defending the law. The process is self-sustaining because as British law shelters homeowners, homeowners will work together to defend the law, property anchors a mutually defensive social compact The process is progressive because "[t]progress of one man, thus endowing his little cottage with love and comfort, provokes the emulation of his neighbor, and thus hamlets rise, and great cities, even in the bosom of a wilderness like this!" (15) In other words, the desire to have what one's neighbors have provokes industry: "With newer desires of sentiment, industry is impelled to exertion, that the demands of sentiment shall be satisfied; and thus it is that men advance, by the natural and moral process of accumulation, step by step, to the possession, not only of superior fortune, but of superior refinement" (15) This "natural and moral process of accumulation," then, is the basis of Simms's social principle and the cornerstone of his concept of civilization

Simms's re-articulation of what are basically Adam Smith's economic principles particularly emphasizes their role in the production of a "superior fortune" and "superior refinement." In doing so, Simms advances an important component of free trade, the tariff policy that characterized antebellum southern economic policies on the national level. For instance, "The Tariff," from The Southern Quarterly Review of January, 1846, quotes Adam Smith to counter what it calls the principles of "monopoly, restraint, non-intercourse" which it claims are the essence of a protective tariff:

> "The sneaking arts" [Smith] says, "of underling tradesmen are thus erected into political maxims for the conduct of a great empire; for it is the most underling tradesmen who make it a rule to employ chiefly their own customers. A great trader purchases his goods where they are cheapest and best, without regard to any little interest of that kind. By such maxims as these, however, nations have been taught that their interest consisted in beggaring all their neighbors. Each nation has been made to look with an invidious eye upon the prosperity of all the nations with which it trades, and to consider their gain as its own loss. Commerce, which ought naturally to be among the nations, as among individuals, a bond of union and friendship, has become the most fertile source of discord and animosity." (144)

Simms's revitalization of the communal nature of economic production in The Social Principle re-emphasizes the extra-monetary exchange that Smith posits as inherent to "great" trading; it dwells upon the "bond of union and friendship"

as commercial products which the protection of individual property fosters.

By extension, Simms's social principle also opposes "monopoly, restraint," and "non-intercourse" in both the village community and what Simms refers to as he asks, "What are we in the social world? What is our rank, compared with other nations in the estimation of the civilized?" Following Smith, who suggests that commerce bonds nations and individuals, Simms suggests that the problem with a prohibitive tariff is a question not just of superior fortune but of superior civilization/ refinement--that it is a problem not only for the individual but also for the nation.

This metonymic link between the individual and the nation suggests the effect of regionally identified approaches to commerce upon the representation of, and the representational impact of, beautiful, manly southern heroes. Simms makes that connection overt. "The task before the race, is the restoration of its standards to the beautiful ideal of its original," he argues in Self Development: an Oration "The task before the individual, is to make his contribution, in his place, towards the common action" (13) The doctrine relies on recognizing and

exploiting intrinsic differences: all workers must remain in their places to advance society.

Southerners also advocated a broad definition of useful work. Rather than emphasizing the utility of productive labor per se, southerners emphasized the utility of the citizen--one could "work" usefully whether one worked in a field or in the big house, as master, as long as one were serving the community in the capacity at which one excelled. Working together, doing what was "appropriate" to each, black and white southerners could advance the community, but that did not necessarily challenge a division of labor that was based on fictions of race. At best, all would advance, economically and aesthetically, proportionately. This is a defence of the potential productiveness of southern slavery, certainly; it is also a defence of the aesthetics of slavery within a free trade economy.

Simms telescopes the terms of his defence of the economics and aesthetics of southern society in his description of the production of manhood:

> The causes which make a nation triumph, have their roots in the successes of the citizen. . . But this usefulness in the citizen, from which result must issue, depends wholly upon the development of individual faculties. How should one be useful to his neighbor unless by the exhibition of peculiar resources? How should the offices of usefulness be reciprocal, unless the endowments were several and unlike? Here then, with this single and simple conviction present, we

begin the training of the child for manhood (24) Learning one's place, understanding one's propensities and maximizing their uses, is the first criterion for a successful division of labor, and the first lesson of manhood.

The beginning and end of the economic and aesthetic system, then, is the training of the individual for manhood. The first step in training for manhood is to recognize beauty:

> It is our own best nature we thus train to beauty, through every agency of sense, sentiment and sensibility, to the full development of that greatest of all human virtues--a perfect manhood. It is not merely eye and ear and nose which are the satisfied feeders among those flowers. But here thought broods with new discoveries, which bring new hopes, fancies spring with fresh desires, that take all their aspects from innocence, love glows with generous and sweet emotions, and the man becomes complete in the exercise of all his fulness of quality, in beauty, majesty and strength. (Sense 8)

Like the British homeowner's appreciation of his neighbor's goods, the perfected man's appreciation of beauty leads to thought; thought brings discovery; and this leads to more of whence it sprang: a greater appreciation of beauty, superior refinement, superior fortune, manhood, and progressive civilization. Greater manly beauty, or what amounts to the same thing, a greater appreciation of the beauty of men, is the first and final mark of--or is synomous with the

establishment of--progressive civilization based on a division of labor in the context of free trade. Manly beauty marks the southern hero's usefulness to his community.

Simms's beautiful, fictional heroes demonstrate the efficacy of perfected manhood. The manly beauty of Simms's southern aristocratic heroes marks their participation in commerce, civilization, and social stability. For instance, the introduction of the hero of Simms's The Yemassee, Gabriel Harrison, emphasizes Harrison's manliness, his beauty, and his participation in commercial circulation:

> The sailor turned fiercely, dirk in hand, upon the person [Harrison] who had thus torn him from his victim, but he met an unflinching front, and a weapon far more potent than his own. The glance of the new comer, not less than his attitude, warned him of the most perfect readiness, while a lively expression of the eye, and the something of a smile which slightly parted his lips, gave a careless, cavalier assurance to his air, which left it doubtful whether, in reality, he looked upon a contest as even possible at the moment. The stranger was about thirty years old, with a rich European complexion, a light blue eye, and features moulded finely, so as to combine manliness with as much of beauty as might comport with it. He was probably six feet in height, straight as an arrow, and remarkably well and closely set. He wore a dress common among the gentlemen of that period [1715] and place--a sort of compound garb, in which the fashion of the English cavalier of the second Charles had been made to coalesce in some leading particulars with that which, in the American forests, seemed to be imperatively called for by the novel circumstances and mode of life prevailing in the region. The sur-coat was of a dark blue stuff, usually worn

> open at the bosom, and displaying the rich folds of the vest below to the taste of the wearer, but which on the present occasion was of the purest white. The underclothes were of a light gray, fitting admirably to display his buskins were like those worn by the Indians. A broad buckskin belt encircled his waist, and secured the doublet which came midway down his thigh. In his hand he carried a light fusil of peculiarly graceful make for that period, and richly ornamented with drops of silver let in tastefully along the stock, so as to shape vaguely a variety of forms and figures. The long knife stuck in his belt was his only other weapon; and this, forming as it does one of the most essential implements of woodcraft, we may scarcely consider it under that designation. A white Spanish hat, looped broadly up at one of the sides, and secured with a small button of gold, rested slightly upon his head, from which, as was the fashion of the time, the brown hair in long clustering ringlets depended about the neck.
>
> The sailor, as we have said, turned immediately upon the person who, so opportunely for Sanutee [the sailor's victim and a chief of the Yemassee], had torn him from the body of the Indian, but he encountered the presented rifle, and the clicking of the cock assured him of the perfect readiness of him who carried it to encounter his enemy in any way that he might choose. There was that in the stranger's eye which showed him to be as cool and confident, as he was vigorous and young. The sailor saw that he was no child. . . (28)

This, the hero's first appearance in the text, establishes Harrison's manhood, relying upon terms which invest his control over the stranger with his manliness: the sailor turns to meet "a weapon far more potent than his own," and "the clicking of the cock" assures him that the hero knows how to use it.

The scene, which begins with a stranger realizing Harrison has a bead on him, is interrupted at surprising

length by the narrator's careful examination of the hero's visage and clothes--with an enthusiasm for his rich European complexion, the mingling of "manliness with as much beauty as might comport with it," and careful apologies that the fashionable rags are not fashionable today, though they were the height of fashion then. Even the gun which is functionally leveled becomes a fashion accessory. "[I]n his hand he carried a light fusil of peculiarly graceful make for that period, and richly ornamented with drops of silver let in tastefully along the stock, so as to shape vaguely a variety of forms and figures."

Moreover, the stranger wins the encounter not through the gun he has leveled on the stranger but through his "looks". "There was that in the stranger's eye which showed him to be as cool and confident, as he was vigorous and young. The sailor saw that he was no child. . ." (28) The hero may not, in fact, have even chosen to use his gun--he merely cocks it to assure the enemy of his readiness "to encounter his enemy in any way that he might choose." In short, the hero has not proposed that if the stranger moves then he will be shot, but that if the stranger challenges, he will have to fight a gentleman's duel--and with a man who presents an exceptionally polished, if martial, front

While the hero's manliness is accentuated by his aestheticized posturing, his posturing emphasizes not only the personal beauty of the man but also his dedication to commerce. He wears native American buskins and a buckskin around his waist, an English sur-coat, vest, and underclothes, and a "white Spanish hat. secured with a small button of gold." This philosophy of trade encourages his ability to employ the most useful or beautiful products of a variety of nations. "Commerce began, "according to Debow's Commercial Review,

> by an interchange or barter of the mere necessaries of life. The planter of the river's side offered bread in exchange for the sale and dried flesh of the hunter of the desert. But to this market of food, those who had none to offer, brought to obtain it spices and frankincense, and gold and silver, and precious stones, as they could obtain them. What can be more evident than that the desire for all these in turn was suggested from without, was a matter of reciprocal education--a step in civilization.

Appropriately, then, the hero's dress, "a sort of compound garb," derives from a number of countries.

The "small button of gold" that secures Harrison's Spanish hat directly contrasts his love of precious metals to his opponent's--the Spanish sailor wears "a blue jacket, studded thickly with buttons that hung each by a link, and formed so many pendent knobs of solid gold, and there was not a little ostentation in the thick and repeated folds of

the Spanish chain, made of the same rich material, which encircled his neck" (28). Even the sailor's pants have gold sewn along the seams, and they are worn "like the Turkish." This reference to the despotic nation, Turkey, that had in the 1820s subdued the eminently civilized (and now christian) Greeks only re-emphasizes the sailor's antagonism to civilization that is already revealed by his display of precious metals.

With all his gold, the sailor is a walking insignia of South Carolinian Senator McDuffie's description of Spain:

> This policy of selling much and buying little, so strongly exemplified in our protective system, is the very same in principle which impoverished Spain after the discovery of America. She carefully hoarded all the precious metals produced by her colonies, and prohibited its exportation by severe penal regulations. The result was, that she became the most impoverished nation in Europe (8)

Senator McDuffie's perspective is borne out by the author of "The Tariff":

> Go where you please among civilized nations, and you can find arguments in favor of the adoption of a liberal system of commerce. Spain is the country in which the [protective tariff] principles of the Home league have taken deepest root. More than two hundred articles are subject to prohibitory duties. . . . The fruits of the system are found in a disordered finance,--depopulated cities,--abandoned ports,--ruined commerce,--a miserable peasantry, and a contraband trade, existing in despite of law, and contributing still more to the degradation of the State. (146)

As opposed to the Spanish sailor, the beautiful, manly southern hero believes in the circulation of goods--in constant, fair, and free trading--rather than in trading for the mere accumulation of capital. He has even bought a Spanish hat, though he must purchase it from his enemies.

Through Harrison's dedication to civilized commercial exchange, the text carefully distinguishes Harrison from what Smith might term "underling tradesmen," who trade merely to accumulate gold. Harrison appeals to Bess Matthews' infallible intuition to answer the question, "'Bess, by what are you assured I am no trader?" Bess Matthews responds as if the answer were self-evident: "'By many things, Gabriel,'" she says, "'by look, language, gesture, manner--your face, your speech.--All satisfy me that you are no trader, but a gentleman--like the brave cavaliers that stood by King Charles'" (54). Throughout the text, Harrison neither affirms nor contradicts the suggestion that he is no trader, yet characters who know that Harrison is, in fact, Governor Craven "slip up," referring to "Harrison" as Lord Falantine, or "lord." Of course, the text's conclusion confirms Bess's assessment.

It is through Harrison's second "exchange" with the Spanish/English sailor that he explains the difference between the acts of "a trader" and Harrison's "trading:"

Asked if he will sell a gold chain, Choriey responds,

> "Ay, that will I, but at a price something beyond your mark. What will you give now?"
> "Put like a trader--Granger himself could not have said it with more grace." (127)

Harrison's bartering is, in fact, a delaying tactic; Harrison is awaiting the arrival of men who will help him capture the sailor, who has already captured Harrison's slave Hector. Harrison intends to trade with the sailor's ship: the sailor for Hector. Unlike the sailor, who has already stolen Harrison's property and who is determined to sell his chain for as much as Harrison will give, and perhaps more than he can, Harrison's exchange of the sailor for Hector is generous-- he could as easily have extorted the gold chain from the sailor.

Even as Harrison labels Choriey a "trader," he knows that the sailor is a pirate, that he literally preys upon and thereby inhibits proper commercial exchange. Unlike a piratical "trader," who is eager for mere profit, Harrison spends his assets extravagantly and expects only equal or no tangible return. He promises to replace Sanutee's dog with a better one, he supports the English fur trade with the Yemassee, he regularly pays Granger for various services, and he pays Moll Granger one hundred pounds merely for offering to scout the Yemassees when Granger refuses. By the end of the text, he even frees Hector

Harrison is [illegible] frontier, in fact, to help counter the effects of an unfair trade. The Yemassee uprising is triggered by South Carolinian attempts to extort more lands from the Yemassee. Sanutee, the Yemassee chief who leads the uprising, returns to the main Yemassee city, Pocotaligo, just in time to avert the purchase of the Yemassee burial grounds:

> As he feared, the chiefs had taken advantage of his absence to give audience to the commissioners of treaty from the Carolinians, charged with the power to purchase from the Yemassees a large additional tract of land, which, if sold to the whites, would bring their settlements directly upon the borders of Pocota-ligo itself. The whites had proceeded, as was usual in such cases, to administer bribes of one sort or another, in the shape of presents, to all such persons, chiefs or people, as were most influential and seemed most able to serve them. . . . In addition to these, other gifts, such as hatchets, knives, beads, &c., had been made to minister to the craving poverty of the people, so that, before the arrival of Sanutee, the minds of the greater number of the chiefs had been rendered very flexible, and prepared to give gracious answer to all claims and proffers which the policy of the white commissioners should prompt them to make. (84)

This is a "trader's" bargain. The council's greed leads it to desire more of the Yemassee land than the Yemassee can afford to part with, and it offers the Yemassee articles of unequal value in return. In response, Sanutee encourages the Yemassee populace into revolution, the citizens confiscate the signed contract, and the suddenly martial

Yemassee escort the English from Pocata-ligo. Hearing the retreating deputation's account, Harrison exclaims, "'Indeed, but this is worse and worse I feared something, and warned the council against this movement. But their cursed desire to possess the lands must precipitate all the dangers I have been looking for'" (106). As opposed to Chorley, a selfish "underling tradesman," Harrison is a "great trader"; he knows that generous expenditures advance his own cause as much as they do others'.

The impact of bad trading with the English falls most heavily upon Harrison's Yemassee counterparts Harrison's heroic Yemassee counterpart, Sanutee, is the first character introduced in the story, in conflict with Chorley over a deer, and the one whose death scene closes it. His philosophy of trade mirrors Harrison's

> The long straight bow, with a bunch of arrows, probably a dozen in number, suspended by a thong of deerskin, hung loosely upon his shoulders. His hatchet or tomahawk, the light weapon, a substitute for the stone hatchet, introduced by the colonists, was slightly secured to his waist by a girdle of the same material. His dress, which fitted tightly to his person, indicated a frequent intercourse with the whites, since it had been adapted to the shape of the wearer, instead of being worn loosely as the bearskin of preceding ages. The warrior before us had been among the first to avail himself of the arts of the whites in the improvement of the costume; nay, he had taken other lessons, of even greater value, from the superior race. But of these hereafter. (16)

Like Harrison's, Sanutee's dress indicates the extent to which he has gained an education through the proximity of, and his inclination to learn from, another culture. Each has learned, and gained, from the exchange. For Sanutee and Harrison, the meaning of "commerce" has expanded to include cultural as well as monetary exchange. The social interaction of the Yemassee and English peoples has changed and improved them both. Sanutee is the only chief who refuses the bad trade offered by the English. With no other options, he leads his nation in a futile war against the English, but he dies a noble death, his death closing out the book while he still boldly calls out his battle cry. "'Sangarrah-me, Yemassee--Sangarrah-me--Sangarrah-me!'" (406)

On the other hand, Sanutee's son, Occonestoga, who with one arrow saves Bess Matthews from a rattlesnake as Harrison with one rifle shot later saves her from the sailor, eagerly trades with the English. That concession is most dramatically presented as his physical bearing is most clearly contrasted with Harrison's:

> And [Sanutee] listened to the votes in succession, approving of the trade, until, rising from a corner of the apartment in which, lying prostrate, where he had till then kept out of sight of the assembly and entirely concealed from the eye of Sanutee, a tall young warrior [Occonestoga], pushing aside the torch-bearers, staggered forth into the ring. He had evidently been much

> intoxicated, though now recovering from its effects, and, but for the swollen face and the watery eye, the uncertain and now undignified carriage, he might well have been considered a fine specimen of savage symmetry and manly beauty. When his voice, declaring also for the barter, struck upon the ear of the old chief, he started round as if an arrow had suddenly gone into his heart. (89)

Occonestoga's drunken state marks the quality of his fiscal interaction with the English--the trade is literally physically debilitating, and it pilfers Occonestoga of beauty and of his noble heritage. Sanutee disowns him immediately after this speech, but Occonestoga has already forfeited the "savage symmetry and manly beauty" which had marked him as a precocious Yemassee youth. In the end, his participation in the trade incurs the decree that the mark of the Yemassee should be removed from his shoulder--he is damned to a life and afterlife as a social outcast.

By the novel's end, Harrison has claimed the kinds of social rewards Occonestoga forfeits. Harrison, who opposes the trade and such traders, retains both his manly beauty and his social standing. Harrison also gains a wife, a heritage, and lofty social standing as Governer Craven of South Carolina. Bess Matthews' claim that she can tell, "'by look, language, gesture, manner--your face, your speech,'" that Harrison is "no trader" re-emphasizes the link between Harrison's manly beauty and his participation

in civilizing commercial exchange. He is neither the victim nor the prosecutor of selfish exchanges, a steadfastness which marks him as "'a gentleman--like the brave cavaliers that stood by King Charles'" (54), a civilized man, and a southern hero.

The terms of Craven's success are repeated but reversed in Simms's texts which end less happily. Richard Hurdis portrays William's tragic confrontation with the "mystic confederacy," a fictional criminal organization which permeates the Southwest and forwards the anti-social philosophy that "Man is the prey of man--the weak of the strong--the unwary of the cunning. The more black, the more bloated, the spider, the closer his web, and the greater the number and variety of his victims. He sits at ease, and they plunge incontinently into his snare" (314). Ensnared by a "social principle" that engages self-interest as a means of self-aggrandizement at the expense of others instead of as a means of community development, William is destroyed, and the tragedy of his death is indicated by the deformation of his once noble looks: "battered and bruised--his noble face covered with blood and dust, one of his eyes protruding from his socket, and the limbs, once so symmetrical and straight, now contracted and fixed in deformity by the sudden spasms of death . . . his voice

silent, his body mangled, his noble figure stiffened into deformity" (193).

Likewise, defeated by Colonel Sharpe, a politician who plays upon the affections of the masses in order to amass personal power, William Calvert, the hero of Beauchamp (1842), loses his taste for politics, and his looks:

> There is a fixedness and depth in his eyes--an intensity of gaze--which penetrates you with a sense of suffering and mystery; suffering which has been overcome, but which has left its traces, as the fire which has been extinguished- - - - His mouth, in its rather close compression, comfirms the story of his eyes, and the beauty of the well-cut lips is somewhat impaired by the sternness resulting from this additional evidence of trial, and vexing passions. (12)

Calvert arrays political arguments which impress others with the "beauty of his declamation" (176), and he immerses himself in "the innocent pursuit of . . . objects of grace and beauty" (357), but his looks are permanently impaired. William's death and the marring of Calvert's beauty are effected by their encounters with antagonists from "alien social and commercial organization[s]" which emphasize individuals over the social group. William's deformation and Calvert's disfigurement mark the potency of the threat posed to the person and to the personal beauty of the southern hero by a commercial organizations which rationalize anti-social actions to advance individual power.

In their condemnation of socioeconomic relations that privilege the individual over the community, Simms's works mirror the concerns of his popular northern counterpart, James Fenimore Cooper, whose "Littlepage trilogy" retraces the aristocratic history of New York's nineteenth-century landholders in order to condemn the incursions of New Englanders, and "New England" values, in his state. In general, Simms's confrontation of rationalizations that forward the individual over the social principle is more successful than Cooper's. In The Chainbearer, for instance, Cooper's Littlepages finally defeat Aaron Timberman, the greedy squatter from Vermont who is in league with an embezzling schoolteacher from Connecticut, but his success is plainly a rearguard action. Cooper's more popular character, Natty Bumppo, blazes the trail for Cooper's Littlepages--they will recede as greedy and perserverIng New English settlers advance. Drawing upon the more established, more extensive and distinct traditions of the South, William Gilmore Simms's beautiful southern heroes embody a defense of southern socioeconomic priorities that endures into the Civil War.

In The American Democrat, Cooper offers a theory about the relationship between property and civilization that seems not unlike Simms's: "Social station, in the main, is a

consequence of property. So long as there is civilization, there must be the rights of property, and so long as there are the rights of property, their obvious consequences must follow. . . . As property is the base of all civilization, its existence and security are indispensable to social improvement" (178). Cooper's thinking here addresses local New York issues, specifically, the anti-rentism movement, in which families who had rented land on what were called three-generation leases agitated for the right to buy the land (at a rate that did not charge for improvements they had made) when the lease was up or at least to continue renting under the same terms. More broadly, however, Cooper's thinking reflects Simms's: both advocate the protection of property as the basis of civilization and social improvement. Both encourage the less privileged to embrace the status quo as the basis for a brighter future.

Still, as D. H. Lawrence has observed, and W. M. Verhoeven has recently affirmed, Cooper "was seriously divided against himself, never being able to make up his mind whether he preferred the wigwam to his Paris hotel, Chingachgook to his wife, or Natty Bumppo to his 'humble self'. Ultimately, Cooper wanted to realize both options" (12). Cooper's thinking about property, as described by John G. Cawelti, would fit nicely in this series of

dichotomies:

> Although Cooper thought that 'property was the basis of all civilization' and that '[property is desirable as the ground of moral independence, as a means of improving the faculties, and of doing good to others, and as the agent in all that distinguished the civilized man from the savage,' he was obviously fascinated by the idea that the American Indian did not believe in ownership of the land. (155)

On one hand, Susan Scheckel examines The Pioneers as an elaboration of American rights to Indian territory and Robert Lawson-Peebles argues that "if Cooper believed that 'property is the basis of all civilization,' its apex was achieved through marriage with an appropriate partner" (52). On the other hand, George F. Bagby claims, "Clearly, we seem to have two Coopers here. . . . [One] is a die-hard champion of property and property rights; the other, who writes The Pathfinder in the same period [1838-1846], offers in the temptations of his protagonist genuinely radical insights into the negative effects of ownership" (90).

Rather than imagining two Coopers, I believe that Cooper's attitude toward property reflects a specifically Northeastern dilemma: within the context of free trade, property is "the basis of all civilization." In the context of protectionism, civilization cannot advance, and property marks economic and social stagnation. Committed to the terms of free trade but relying upon protectionism,

Northeasterners identified themselves within a discourse that was divided against itself

Cooper suggests not only that property is the basis of civilization but also that that "we may infer that the rights of property, to a certain extent, are founded in nature" (187). He adds,

> If left to itself, unsupported by factitious political aid, but sufficiently protected against the designs and rapacity of the dishonest, property is an instrument of working most of the good that society enjoys. It elevates a national character, by affording the means of cultivating knowledge and the tastes; it introduces all above barbarism into society; and it encourages and sustains laudable and useful efforts in individuals. (190)

Cooper presents a hierarchy of progress: nature supports property rights, which is the basis of civilization, which supports an elevated national character, cultivated knowledge/tastes, community and useful effort.

On the other hand, Cooper identifies a corrupted civilization: "The rights of property become artificial and extended, as society becomes civilized. . . . Civilization has established various, and in some cases, arbitrary and unjust distinctions, as pertaining to the rights of property. . . . (American, 188). In short, "civilization" has not sufficiently protected the rights of property from "factitious political aid" or from "the designs and rapacity of the dishonest." "Civilization," then, can be either

natural or artificial; it can be social and cultivated, or it can be rapacious and unjust--the distinction relies upon how successfully the community protects the natural rights of property.[3]

Cooper's and Simms's understanding of the links between "property" and "civilization," then, are similar, despite this similarity, Cooper seems unable to mount a significant defense of natural property rights. Unlike Simms's heroes, for example, who resist the pirates like Chorley and who defeat the mystic Confederacy, Cooper's heroes run away, not from "civilization" per se but from a corruption of "civilization" that they seem unable to resist. For example, Cooper's The Pioneers and Simms's The Yemassee open with scenes that emphasize a question over the right of property. In each, one man has wounded a deer but another, finishing the deer with a shot, claims the quarry as his own. Both Simms's Chorley and Cooper's Marmaduke Temple lay claim to what may not be rightfully theirs, and which, as the richness of their apparels suggests, they do not need. Neither, in fact, is even actively hunting when he shoots the deer. Simms's Craven and Cooper's Natty Bumppo defend their friends' rights to property. They act, in Cooper's terms, as defenders of the natural rights of property, and they support what is best about civilization. Yet the

southern hero's defence finally leads to his recognition as Governor of the province; the northern hero's defence leads his to persecution and, ultimately, to his flight from the settlements. In Simms's work, civilization triumphs. In Cooper's work, "civilization" triumphs--an individual's rapacity defeats society's ability to protect the "natural" property rights of its members.

If The Yemassee covertly offers a moral to encourage southern youths to beautiful manhoods, the moral lesson of The Deerslayer reverses Simms's lesson--Natty Bumppo specifically rejects manly beauty by linking it to delirious passion and sin rather than with civilized fair dealing. The preface's rejection of manly beauty is linked with its fundamentally confused relation to civilization per se.[4] Of all the Leatherstocking Tales, The Deerslayer offers Natty Bumppo the most likely opportunity to assume a social position in the "civilized" settlements. Judith Hutter, whom Natty admires, actually proposes to him--"Can you--do you think, Deerslayer, that you could be happy with such a wife as a woman like myself would make?" (351). Natty naively misunderstands, even though Judith insists, "Never was I more serious in my life," assuming that so beautiful a woman would never consider having him as a husband. Natty never seems to understand that Judith is serious, he takes

the rifle, Killdeer, instead of the woman, he returns to the wilderness, and henceforward he becomes a confirmed bachelor. Judith's proposal confirms Cooper's preface's suggestion that Natty's "high qualities," including his extraordinary "modesty," are liable to attract the love of a beautiful woman (though they are not enough, finally, to attract Mabel in The Pathfinder); ironically, here, Natty's modesty prevents him from recognizing the beautiful woman's love.

Unlike Harrison's direct assumption of the governorship and marriage, Natty Bumppo's contradictory moral example charts a dead end for northern youths who may expect to marry and assume a position in civilized society. Natty's example opens the path to marriage, but provides no strategy to follow it. Unlike Harrison, who is a southern hero for participating in free trade, Natty is a northern hero for having escaped the terms of the northern economic system; he offers no logical strategy for working within it.[5]

The text's denunciation of manly beauty is as ambivalent as its approbation of modesty, if sometimes even more strident. Judith Hutter, whose waywardness is reformed by Deerslayer's example, carefully explains the insignificance of manly beauty to Hetty, her feeble-minded sister, who takes the opposite position: "'You are handsome,

end he is ugly--'" Hetty argues "'No, not ugly, Hetty, interupted Judith. 'Only plain'" (259) This conversation is elaborated upon later in the text, Hetty exclaiming,

> "Deerslayer!" repeated the other, looking up in unfeigned surprise, "why, Judith, Deerslayer isn't in the least comely, and is altogether unfit for one like you!"
>
> "He is not ill-looking, Hetty, and beauty in a man is not of much matter."
>
> "Do you think so, Judith? I know that beauty is of no great matter, in a man or woman, in the eyes of God, for mother has often told me so, when she thought I might have been sorry I was not as handsome as you--though she needn't have been uneasy on that account, for I never coveted anything that is yours, sister, but tell me so she did, still, beauty is very pleasant to the eye, in both. I think, if I were a man, I should pine more for good looks than I do as a girl. A handsome man is a more pleasing sight then a handsome woman."
>
> "Poor child! you scarce know what you say or what you mean! Beauty in our sex is something, but in man, it passes for little. To be sure, a man ought to be tall, but others are tall as well as Hurry; and active--I think I know those that are more active. . ." (315)

Judith's response to Hetty, whom the Hurons respect as an idiot-savant, exaggerates Hetty's simple-mindedness. To imagine that beauty is more important for men than for women, Hetty must be a child, confused by her own words. Judith sets the record straight--beauty is something for women, nothing for men

Despite Judith's claim, the text indicates that beauty is <u>something</u> for men, but whether it is something good or something bad remains ambiguous. Hurry Harry, the foil

whose weakness accentuates Deerslayer's probity and the competitor for the hand of Judith, embodies the "beauty, delirious passion, and sin" which the preface, and Judith's opinion, suggest that Deerslayer refutes. Harry's manly figure is the first described in the text, and in glowing terms:

> It would not have been easy to find a more noble specimen of vigorous manhood than was offered in the person of him who called himself Hurry Harry. . . . The stature of Hurry Harry exceeded six feet four, and being unusually well proportioned, his strength fully realized the idea created by his gigantic frame. The face did no discredit to the rest of the man, for it was both good-humored and handsome. His air was free, and though his manner necessarily partook of the rudeness of a border life, the grandeur that pervaded so noble a physique prevented it from becoming altogether vulgar. (4)

The text immediate juxtaposes Deerslayer's humble appearance---"His face would have had little to recommend it except youth"-- but soon afterwards, Hurry Harry describes Deerslayer in more explicit terms:

> "No, no, Deerslayer, you're no beauty, as you will own yourself, if you'll look over the side of the canoe. . . .
>
> [He continues] "You are <u>not</u> a beauty, as you must know, and why shouldn't fr'inds tell each other these little trifles? If you <u>was</u> handsome, or ever like to be, I'd be one of the first to tell you of it; and that ought to content you. . . ."
>
> "I'll not deny, Hurry, that I often wish I'd been created more comely to the eye, and more like such a one as yourself, in them particulars; but then I get the feelin' under by remembering how much better off I am, in a great many respects.

than some fellow-mortals." 33)

If Deerslayer is "no beauty," Hurry Harry, as Hetty and Judith later attest, is a beautiful man. Moreover, the narration links Harry's beautiful face with a body which is "noble," "vigorous," strong and grand.

Hurry Harry is never fully condemned, if never fully redeemed. Throughout the text, descriptions of Harry's body provide more opportunities to marvel at his vigor and manliness. For example, when Harry is ambushed by eight Hurons he emerges spectacularly from the house, "raging like a lion at bay," and as Chingachgook and Hist helplessly watch him, Harry disables six Hurons and encounters the last two:

> One of these, however, was not only the largest and strongest of the Hurons, but he was also the most experienced of the warriors present, and that one whose sinews were the best strung in fights, and by marches on the war-path. This man fully appreciated the gigantic strength of his opponent, and had carefully husbanded his own. He was also equipped in the best manner for such a conflict, standing in nothing but his breech-cloth, the model of a naked and beautiful statue of agility and strength . . . Still Hurry did not hesitate . . . So fierce did [the struggle] immediately become, and so quick and changeful were the evolutions of the athletae, that the remaining savage had no chance for interfering, had he possessed the desire; but wonder and apprehension held him spellbound. (282)

The wrestling match is staged as if Harry were a Grecian wrestling event--Chingachgook, Hist, and the remaining Huron

serve as a "spellbound" audience, a spectatorial model for the reader, who also watches the suddenly Grecian display of strength, beauty, and athleticism. Minor clashes, Harry's dispatch of the lesser Hurons, prefigure the main event Then, the narrator dwells at length upon the next-to-last Huron's extraordinary advantages. Harry seems well matched And finally, Harry, like the first white hope, engages his dusky-skinned Huron counterpart. He defeats the Huron so thoroughly, that "[s]ome fancied that neither his body nor his mind ever totally recovered. ." (283). Harry's superior body has testified to his claim to Grecian origins.

The rift which distinguishes Deerslayer and Harry, however, seems to rob Harry of that claim. When Harry says he will desert Judith and Hetty, Deerslayer reminds Harry of what he should say instead: "'they don't know Harry March' He is human; and having a white skin he has also a white natur', which natur' won't let him desart females of his own race and gifts, in their greatest need'" (330) Deerslayer implies that in deserting the women Harry is acting as if he were <u>not</u> a human Deerslayer classes Harry among the attacking Mingos Deerslayer's denunciation contradicts the results of Harry's wrestling match, in which Harry displays the athletic "gifts" of his race On one hand, Harry seems a noble and beautiful specimen of civilized white

masculinity. From Natty's perspective, Harry betrays his race, allies himself with the Hurons he has just defeated.

This contradiction permeates the text, but it is first and most commonly raised in connection with Harry's "business" association with the former pirate, Thomas Hutter. Hutter's piratical history remains an unsubstantiated rumor during the first half of the text, but even Hutter's early activities link him with the anti-commercial qualities of protectionism and isolationism. He is called "floating Tom" because he has built his fortress-like house in the middle of the "Inland Sea" of The Deerslayer's subtitle in order to avoid clashes with the native Americans, whom he abhors. The house is called Muskrat Castle, but Deerslayer and Harry finally discover Tom hidden in the claustrophobic Rat's Cove, checking over his traps. Hutter has built a wall between himself and communication with the rest of the world.

The mystery of Tom's identity is likewise hidden away, locked in the great chest he jealously guards, "firmly bound with steel, elaborately and richly wrought, while the locks, of which it had no less than three, and the hinges, were of a fashion and workmanship that would have attracted attention even in a warehouse of curious furniture" (102). Together, Hutter and Harry participate in a disfiguring

trade which Deerslayer claims is "ag'in white man's gifts":

> "High prices are offered for scalps on both sides," [Hutter] observed, with a grim smile, as if he felt the force of the inducement, at the very time he wished to affect a superiority to earning money by means that the ordinary feelings of those who aspire to be civilized men repudiated, even while they were adopted. "It isn't right, perhaps, to take gold for human blood, and yet, when mankind's busy in killing one another, there can be no great harm in adding a little bit of skin to the plunder. What's your sentiments, Hurry, touching these p'ints?"
>
> "That you've made a vast mistake, old man, in calling savage blood human blood, at all. I think no more of a redskin's scalp than I do of a pair of wolf's ears; and would just as lief finger money for the one as for the other." (60)

Hutter agrees, "That's manly . . ." he suggests, but the narratorial comment, that Hutter aspires to being a "civilized" man yet falls short, indicates that it is not the act of a civilized man.

Hutter's reference to "plunder," which links his and Hurry's avarice to piracy, emphasizes that his trade fosters neither civilization nor commerce. It betrays civilization and it preys upon commerce. It requires, furthermore, an acceptance of the potential disfiguration of all involved. "A man shouldn't take scalps," Hutter acknowledges, "if he isn't ready to be scalped, himself, on fitting occasions" (61). Deerslayer's repudiation of the scalping party indicates not only what should be the actions of a civilized man but what is principally wrong with scalping. He argues

that scalping may be appropriate for Indian men, but that civilized white men should protect the weak. In itself, scalping enemies does not seem to violate that dictum, but one page later Hutter's and Harry's avarice has evolved into a plan to scalp the weak "If there's women, there's children," Hutter observes "and big and little have scalps, the colony pays for all alike." Scalping is, as Deerslayer deems it, a trade which takes advantage of those who can't protect themselves

The two white men never manage to take a scalp, but they do lose one Hutter is scalped and left alive, during the ambush which Harry barely escapes. Hutter's slow death scene confirms his piratical past--"'You look like the mate of the Snow--'" he whispers deliriously to Harry, "'he was a giant, too, and near overcoming us'" (302) The same fight which destroys Hutter reforms Harry, who tells the dying Hutter, "'Poor Tom' That scalp business hasn't turned out at all profitable, and I've pretty much concluded to give it up, and to follow a less bloody calling'" (302). Here, Harry "pretty much" concludes to give up his piratical calling, because it has not turned a profit--Hutter has lost his scalp and Harry has risked his own but gained nothing. Harry's half-hearted redemption rescues his good looks as his good looks had saved him from the ambush which brought

about Hutter's scalping, but, like Simms's sailor Harry remains motivated chiefly by profit. Consequently, whatever calling he follows will be potentially "bloody," for it will induce him to take advantage of the weak, and Harry's good looks will constantly be in danger from someone stronger than he.

Deerslayer, on the other hand, resists scalping or injury as successfully as he refuses to participate in Hutter and Hurry's "scalp business." The close of the text places Deerslayer's body on display, celebrating it as manly not for its beauty but for its ability to withstand torture, or for his stoic endurance in the face of a horrifying prelude to torture. Captured by the Hurons, Deerslayer is bound to the stake. The Hurons toss tomahawks and knives at him, and they shoot muskets at him, seeing how close they can come to him and testing his courage:

> The unflinching firmness with which he faced his assailants, more especially in the sort of rally with which this trial terminated [the knife throwing], excited a profound respect in the spectators. . . .
>
> Rivenoak now told his people that the pale-face had proved himself to be a man. He might live with the Delawares, but he had not been made a woman with that tribe. (421)

Deerslayer's example here caps his ascension to manhood. Instead of the beautiful and vigorous manhood of Harry Hurry, Deerslayer exhibits "unflinching firmness," a body

which resists the threats and cuts which the Hurons threaten to inflict. This form of manhood, presumably, derives from "[t]he preference he gives to the high qualities named over beauty, delirious passion, and sin" (ix).

Like the preface's injunction to a level of modesty which earns but ignores the admiration of beautiful woman, this example of a manly body leads to a dead end. The Deerslayer's unflinching firmness incites his enemies to increasingly horrific attacks, and but for the unexpected return of Harry, and the garrison his "desertion" has allowed him to alert, Deerslayer would eventually have to either join the Hurons--as he is invited to do-- or be mangled and killed by the Hurons. Deerslayer endeavors to remain aloof to both possibilities, but Harry's return suggests a third--the beautiful manly hero arriving, significantly enough, at the head the United States calvary to beat back the "savage" Hurons.

Unlike Simms's The Yemassee, Cooper's The Deerslayer ironizes a form of "hard-bodied" manhood which repudiates trade but offers no coherent alternative--Deerslayer's philosophy of subsistence encourages taking only what one needs, and Deerslayer produces no surplus for trade. The text's incomplete rejection of Hurry Harry is a symptom of that failure. Despite arguing that manly beauty is

unimportant, The Deerslayer celebratea ir as heartily as Simme'e The Yemassee But in The Deerslayer, the image of the beautiful man is confused by its repeated association with disfiguring/unfair trade/piracy Each rime the rext celebratee Harry's beauty, it also disrupte the image of manly beauty for economically inclined, heroic Northeaaterners Deerslayer's unbeautiful and non-disfigureable figure is literally no attractive alternative, for commerce and beauty it substitutes isolationism and hard-bodiedness--a defensive renegotiation of the rheroric of classical political economy It remains haunted by the manly beauty of Hurry Harry March, whose heroic rerurn steals Deerslayer's ambivalent thunder, and by beauty's association with a desire for profit

Cooper's rejection of beauty as e component of the hero of The Deerslayer, Natty Bumppo, suggests that in northern texts beauty was incompatible with representations of manly heroism. Nonetheless, the very earnestneee of Cooper's rejection of "beauty" emphasizes the virality of the term for representatione of even northeasrern heroes In fact, Cooper's The Deerslayer keeps returning to manly beaury as doggedly as Simms's The Yemassee seems to take it for granted, and, in the finel analysis The Deerslayer's rejection of manly beauty is much more incomplete than the

preface's injunction would suggest. In the person of Harry Harry March, The Deerslayer repeats the conflicts derived from the Northeast's imbrication in the rhetorics of political economy and progressive civilization. Harry's beauty marks his civilized qualities, yet his beauty is undercut by his participation in a disfiguring trade[6]. Unlike The Pathfinder, The Deerslayer offers no beautifying alternative to piratical, bloody trading. In place of commerce and manly beauty, the text offers merely Natty's effectively non-commercial economy of subsistence--take only what you need-- and his hard-bodied resistance to the bodily penetration and deformity which, for Harry, follows trade. Thus, Natty defensively refuses manly beauty, civilization, and commerce, yet the text remains haunted, almost nostalgically, by the possibility that northern trade might not be merely piratical, that it might support commerce, beauty and civilization.

Cooper's The Wing-and-Wing, published one year after The Deerslayer, presents an interesting and instructive exception to the moral lesson which The Deerslayer offers Northeastern youths. The hero of The Wing-and-Wing is, even in Cooper's estimation, an extraordinarily beautiful young man:

> The stranger was a man of six-and-twenty, who stood five feet ten in his stockings, and whose

> frame was the very figure of [illegible] muscle that gave very fair indications of strength. He was attired in an undress naval uniform, which he wore with a smart air, that one who understood these matters . . . would at once have detected did not belong to the manly simplicity of the English wardrobe. Nor were his features in the slightest degree those of one of the Islanders, the outline being beautifully classical, more especially about the mouth and chin, while the cheeks were colorless, and the skin swarthy. His eye, too, was black as jet, and his cheek was half covered in whiskers of a hue dark as the raven's wing. His face, as a whole, was singularly beautiful; for handsome is a word not strong enough to express all the character that was conveyed by a conformation that might be supposed to have been copied from some antique medal, more especially when illuminated by a smile that, at times, rendered the whole countenance almost as bewitching as that of a lovely woman. There was nothing effeminate in the appearance of the young stranger, notwithstanding, his manly, though sweet voice, well knit frame, and firm looks, affording every pledge of resolution and spirit. (24)

Unlike Hurry Harry, Raoul Yvard is the hero of The Wing-and-Wing despite the fact that he is the very model of a beautiful man--so beautiful that Cooper is almost at a loss for terms to describe him. "Handsome" won't do, and "beautiful" must be buttressed. Raoul is "singularly beautiful" nearly as beautiful as a beautiful woman, but he is downright manly. Raoul is, as Cooper insists, not effeminate. Cooper's enthusiasm here seems to reverse the principle laid down in The Deerslayer. Beauty and manliness can go together

While Cooper offers manliness and beauty in one hand, he removes them with the other. If the fact that the English finally shoot Raoul, and that they happen to shoot him right in his pretty head, does not discourage would-be emulators, Cooper's very description of Raoul's beauty disqualifies him as a representative of Anglo-Saxon Northeastern masculinity. Even if Raoul, posing as a Captain Smith, is presently impersonating an Englishman, Cooper indicates that Raoul's wardrobe "does not belong to the manly simplicity of the English wardrobe." Moreover, Raoul's beauty is noted as the primary indication that "his features [were not] in the slightest degree those of one of the Islanders, the outline being beautifully classical." Like Hurry Harry, Raoul's extraordinary beauty links him to Greece--Raoul is both "beautifully classical" and classically beautiful. That is, his face is so "singularly beautiful" that Cooper imagines it as a copy of "an antique medal." Just what the implications of Raoul's coin-like physiognomy may be for his relationship to commercial exchange is ambiguous, yet because of his Grecian beauty, no one but a fool (like the David Gamut-like Governor of Elba Island) would mistake Raoul as an Anglo-saxon.

Although Raoul is French, not Italian, Raoul nonetheless personifies Italy's classic inheritance. In his

"Introduction" to The Wing-and-Wing, Cooper describes the Italian countryside as he describes Raoul's face

> Until that moment I was not fully sensible of the vast superiority of the Italian landscape over . . . others. . . . I can only liken the effect of the scene we gazed upon this evening to a feeling allied to transport, to the manner in which we dwell upon the serene expression of a beloved and lovely countenance . . . The refinement of Italian nature appears to distinguish it as much from that of other countries as the same quality distinguishes the man of sentiment and intellect from the man of mere impulses (xlv)

The countryside of Italy is, for Cooper, best likened to a lovely countenance--a physiognomy like Raoul's, for instance. Cooper furthers the analogy, suggesting that Italian nature is like a well-bred man--refined, rich in "sentiment" and steeped in "intellect." In the same paragraph, Cooper gives new meaning to the phrase "Italian nature": he infuses the people of the country with the qualities of the countryside. "[The Italians] are more generous than the English, more sincere than the French, and more refined than the Germans. Certainly they are quicker-witted, and physically they are altogether a finer race--though shorter--than I had imagined. . . . I do believe that the Piedmontese, in a physical sense, are the finest race of the entire country" (xv). Typically, Raoul Yvard's frame, though six inches shorter than Harry March's, is "united to a muscle that gave very fair indications of strength."

Cooper's assumption that natural geography influences [illegible] physicality even affects his comparisons of the generally physically "fine" Italians to Italians.

A comparison to the Anglo-saxon is conspicuously absent here, merely because Cooper wishes to develop the topic more fully than the space of one sentence permits:

> The vulgar-minded Englishman talks of the "damned Italians," and the vulgar-minded American imitates his great model, though neither has probably any knowledge of the people, beyond that which he has observed in Inns, and in the carriages of the vetturani. In grace of mind--in a love, and even a knowledge of the arts--a large portion of the common Italians are as much superior to the Anglo-saxon race as civilization is superior to barbarism. (xvi)

In short, the main distinction between the Italians and the Anglo-saxons is that Italians love and understand fine arts, that they are civilized and the Anglo-saxon race is ignorant and vulgar. This distinction explains the ease with which Raoul's classic beauty blatantly distinguishes him as anything but an Anglo-saxon. "Classic" beauty is a sign of refinement and civilization. Cooper imagines the Anglo-saxons as the reverse.

Cooper's buckshot criticism of the entire Anglo-saxon race is a broad blow, one which seems merely to "wing" Americans, who ignorantly follow in the "vulgar" tracks which the English have confidently laid. Likewise, The Wing-and-Wing foregrounds a clash between the English, who

have impressed American seamen, and Raoul Yvard preys upon their shipping and they strive to hunt him down. Nonetheless, the text portrays the English, in general, very favorably, as brave and noble antagonists. For instance, when the English apprehend Raoul in a context which makes him seem to be an enemy spy, for which the penalty is hanging, they regret it and remark wistfully that they would rather meet him and defeat him fairly, on the open sea. By heroic exertions, they even manage to commute his sentence, before Raoul finally escapes. Cooper's presentation of the conflict between Raoul and the only American figured in the text, Ithuel Bolt, is, like Cooper's criticism of the Americans as only vulgar in imitation of the English, presented more subtly than the open conflict between Raoul and the warring Brits. The main distinction drawn in the text, is, in fact, between the beautiful Frenchman and the deformed American.

Ithuel and Raoul are, in fact, compatriots, and I would argue that they are alter-egos. Raoul is the pirate captain of the privateer ship, The Wing-and-Wing, but Ithuel Bolt is Raoul's first mate and the guiding force behind the actual piracy which the ship commits. Despite his fame as a privateer, Raoul spends the text pursuing the lovely, Catholic Ghita, whose religious inclinations resolve her

against the Frenchman. Ithuel takes advantage of Raoul's romantic pursuits to dispose of the pirate ship's plunder:

> Within an hour [...] the three kegs of tobacco were in the possession of a shipkeeper of the place [...]. This little smuggling transaction was carried on altogether without the knowledge of Raoul Yvard, who was to all intents and purposes the captain of his own lugger, and in whose character there were many traits of chivalrous honor, mixed up with habits and pursuits that would not seem to promise qualities so elevated. But this want of a propensity to turn a penny in his own way, was not the only distinguishing characteristic between the commander of the little craft, and the being he occasionally used as a mark to his true purposes. (65)

The last sentence of this excerpt, which closes a chapter and is not further elucidated, raises the question of who really is the "commander of the little craft" and of who is being used to conceal "his true purposes." Certainly, Ithuel's errand would conceal Raoul's lax enforcement of the pirate ship's goals, but Ithuel's errand is supposedly unknown to Raoul. Of course, Ithuel is using Raoul's romantic errand to conceal his piratical goals, but Ithuel is not the commander of the vessel, after all, Raoul is "to all intents and purposes the captain of his own lugger." In practice, though, Raoul seems more intent upon love than profit.

Together, Ithuel and Raoul negotiate the paradox of Harry Harry's unsustainable "piratical beauty." In Raoul, Harry's Grecian beauty is broadly and seemingly

unconflictedly represented. In his alter ego, Ithuel Bolt, Harry's piraticel berberism end greed appear, end physicelly Ithuel is quite the reverse of Raoul

> He had the outline of a good frame, but it was miserably deficient in the filling up The bone predominated, the sinews came next in consideration, nor was the man without a proper share of muscle, but this last was so disposed of as to present nothing but angles, whichever way he was viewed Even his thumbs and fingers were nearer square than round, and his very neck, which was bare, though a black silk kerchief was tied loosely round the throat, had a sort of pentagon look about it, that defied all symmetry or grace His stature was just six feet and an inch, when he straightened himself, as he did from time to time, seemingly with a desire to relieve a very inveterate stoop in his shoulders, though it was an inch or two less, in the position he most affected. His hair was dark, and his skin had got several coats of confirmed brown on it, by exposure, though originally rather fair, while the features were good, the forehead being broad and full, and the mouth positively handsome This singular countenance was illumineted by two keen, restless, whitish eyes, that resembled, not spots on the sun, but rather suns on a spot (49)

Ithuel Bolt is a bright-eyed end angular smudge, whose "air end deportment. had no direct agency of changing" the opinion of "most Italians of that day [who] regarded all the families of the northern hordes as a species of barbarians" (52-53). The fact that Ithuel is "manifestly uncivilized" probably accounts for his failure to fill out the "good frame" with which he has been endowed, a lament of sorts for the unfulfilled potential of Cooper's America

Ironically, Cooper's denunciation of Ithuel Bolt references the very terms which William Gilmore Simms cites to distinguish Cooper's heroes as manly and beautiful:

> Marble could not be more inflexible than this cold, immovable, pulseless personage [the Pilot]. He says nothing, shows nothing, promises nothing. Yet we are interested in his very first appearance. Why and how? . . . He shows the capacity for work, and this constitutes the the sort of manhood upon which all men rely in moments of danger. . . . All is hidden within himself, and, except when at work, he is nothing---he might as well be stone. . . . [Yet i]n his hands the ship becomes a being, instinct with life, beauty, sentiment--in danger, and to be saved" (220).

Like the Pilot, Ithuel Bolt's physique is associated with marble and stone:

> Ithuel Bolt was a native of what, in this great Union, is called the Granite State. Notwithstanding, he was not absolutely made of the stone in question, there was an absence of the ordinary symptoms of natural feeling about him, that had induced his French acquaintances in particular to affirm that there was a good deal more of marble in his moral temperament, at least, than usually fell to the lot of human beings. (48)

Yet as a pirate, Ithuel does not save ships, he preys upon them. He does not work, he steals. As one who is out to "turn a penny in his own way," Ithuel does not circulate goods, he accumulates them.

His last name, Bolt, recalls Thomas Hutter's locked chest and fortified island. And like Harry Harry at his worst, Ithuel seeks plunder, not exchange, and so his body becomes a parody of the classical models of a civilized

man's body. There is something of marble to his physique, but there is nothing statuesque about it. And disturbingly enough, just as Cooper links the fine looks of Italians to the refinement of Italian nature, Cooper links Ithuel's leading feature with Northeastern nature: Ithuel's stony soul and repulsive body are marks of his birth in the Granite State, New Hampshire.

Indeed, Ithuel's "economy" is equally repulsive, and disfiguring: "'why, Captain Hyde, I'm nat'rally economical," Ithuel says of himself. "'[Throwing away shot] would be wasteful, and waste I set down for a sin. The only place I calculate on throwing the shot is into the face and eyes of the English'" (162). In fact, despite his warning to Ithuel, it is Raoul who "spends his shot" in the final confrontation with the English. Ithuel's "economy" of weaponry nearly saves the day, but it takes a horrible toll when Ithuel finally lets loose, "A cry arose from the dense shroud of battle, that differed from the shouts of success and courage. Physical agony had extorted shrieks from the stoutest hearts, and even the French in the ruins paused to look for the next act of the desperate drama" (177). The English give way. In this battle, Ithuel's economy gives him an edge--he knows how to inflict damage on his enemies "economically", Raoul's extravagance, on the other hand,

leaves him in debt to the self-styled sailor from "'the Granite country [where] we are never wasteful of our means'" (178)

Mystifyingly, despite the odiousness of Ithuel and the beauty of Raoul, the lesson of The Wing-and-Wing recounts the lesson of The Deerslayer: manly beauty is routed from the text and a hard-bodied man remains. However attractive a personage, Raoul's classic physiognomy is destroyed by an English bullet. However repulsive, Ithuel persists:

> As for Ithuel, he did not appear in America for many years. When he did return, he came back with several thousand dollars, how obtained no one knew, nor did he choose to enter into particulars. He now married a widow, and settled in life. In due time he "experienced religion," and at this moment is an active abolitionist, a patron of the temperance cause, teetotally, and a general terror to evil-doers, under the appellation of Deacon Bolt. (466)

Cooper's denunciation of contemporary New England is devastating, but even in his own fiction Cooper seems helplessly unable to resist it, as if no conceivable plot would destroy or alter Ithuel Bolt, and replace him with Raoul.

The seemingly resistless slip into rough realism--into rough trade--the tragic ending of this romance, repeats the bitter nostalgia of Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales, in which the good that Natty Bumppo seems to embody seems fated to perish. As Geoffrey Rans notes, The Deerslayer portrays

tragic cultural contradictions, like the elimination of the native Americans, but can offer no reasonable alternatives (242). Unlike Simms, who cites commercial policy to bolster representations of beautiful manly southerners, Cooper's Ithuel Bolt succeeds because Cooper can conceive of no available rhetoric to counter the "New England" philosophy of commerce--amassing and maintaining wealth by hook or by crook. Cooper's ideal of a civilization based on natural property rights relies upon the terms that support a "civilization" that succumbs to individual rapacity, one seems necessarily to recall the other. Geoffrey Rans notes, eloquently, "I think that Cooper did wish to preserve in the republic, in civilization, what Natty means; what he wrote, however, inscribes its impossibility" (204). Inevitably, Cooper's New York, and the rest of the nation, he implies, must become New England-like for no other reason than that they are not sufficiently nonNew England-like to resist, and even Cooper's nostalgic myths of the golden past do little more than prepare the way for the present.

It's no surprise that in The Prairie (1827) Natty adopts as a son a Pawnee whose predicament among the Dahcotah anticipates his own youthful capture by the Huron: "Within a dozen yards of them a post was set firmly in the ground, and against it was bound the light and Apollo-like

person of Hard-Heart" (304). So interested is he in Hardheart, that Natty exclaims, "'I never was a father, but well do I know what is the love of one'" (307) and "'My heart yearns to you, boy, and gladly would I do you good'" (308). Hard-Heart picks up Natty's mantle as an American hero. "'Father,'" he says, "'I have heard your words'" (308). Hard-Heart embodies what Natty can't quite achieve. The Apollo-like, manly beauty of Hard-Heart offers a native American beauty to oppose to Ishmael Bush's granite soul and ugly men, and Hard-Heart's race seems to mark him as unassimilable to New England mores. Moreover, Hard-Heart combines the beauty of the Apollo with the hardness of the granite Natty, a mark of his potential to resist the disfigurement which New England-like "progress" threatens. But, like Natty, Hard-Heart's inheritance also entwines the disappearance of Northeastern manly beauty with the predominant myth of the American nation: the resistless logic of manifest destiny and the inevitably vanishing (beautiful) American.

Notes

1. Both Simms and Cooper are literary heirs of Sir Walter Scott, to whom Georg Lukacs ascribes the introduction of the kind of historical novel whose realistically portrayed leading figures, Lukacs argues, embody historical movements and convince readers to accept a historical fiction as an actual pre-history. In fact, Simms praised Scott as "more perfect, more complete, and admirable than any writer of his

qtd. in Wimsatt and such extravagant praise
Scott's *The Pirate* challenged Cooper to write *The*
next which earned him the appelation, the American Scott.
In his turn, Simms was praised as the South's Cooper

2. Cooper goes on to emphasize his regional prejudice
> and there is still standing on the banks of the same river, and within a musket-shot of the wharves of Albany, a residence of a younger branch of the Van Rensselaers, that has loopholes constructed for defence against the same crafty enemy, although it dates from a period scarcely so distant. Other similar memorials of the infancy of the country are to be found, scattered through what is now deemed the very centre of American civilization, affording the plainest proofs that all we possess of security from invasion and hostile violence is the growth of but little more than the time that is frequently filled by a single human life. (2)

Cooper highlights his surprise that loopholes constructed for defence against native American incursions can be found in New York by observing that New York is "the very centre of American civilization." New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania were especially bustling sites of manufacturing capitalism, but southerners might observe that they were not especially bustling sites of civilization

3. Geoffrey Rans implies a distinction between civilization and "civilization" like that which I will explore, when he writes, "Natty embodies all the virtues that civilization endorses but pays only lip service to--Cooper insists on this" (213). Rans distinguishes between the rhetoric, or "lip service" of civilization and the "actual" action of civilization. I differ, here, only in insisting on the rhetorical origins of "actual civilization"--the terms of its description derive as opposites within the lip service given to "civilization." I would say that Natty "embodies" both rhetorics, as does Harry

4. Lora Romero's "Vanishing Americans: Gender, Empire, and New Historicism" flatly contradicts the terms of my argument. Romero argues that Cooper links civilization with deformity, not beauty. "Whatever nostalgia Cooper expresses for savage equilibrium in his description of Uncas, he imagines that civilization necessarily spells the end of archaic proportions. Hence Cooper contrasts Uncas' 'beautiful proportions' with the white man David Gamut's

rare proportions' (184) Romero accurately describes the contrast, but even she links Uncas' beauty to what she calls the "Western tradition [in which] the ancient Greeks had also long represented the ideal of physical beauty" (353), to which I would add that the ancient Greeks had long represented the ideal of Western civilization Gamut's unbeautiful proportions represent him as a product of unbalanced, non-Grecian nature of American life. Uncas' symmetrical beauty indicates the reverse Cooper is not condemning the deformative impact of civilization upon manly bodies, as Romero suggests, but the deformative impact of the "savage' nature of Northeastern economic exchange upon manly bodies Like Romero, Forrest G. Robinson's "Uncertain Borders: Race, Sex, and Civilization in The Last of the Mohicans" assumes a seamless connection between "civilization" and Northeastern culture, perhaps anachronistically the Northeast's industrialization forced a renegotiation of the the region's relationship to "civilization," one which complicated the Northeast's access to representations of manly beauty

5. A. N. Kaul suggests that Natty's attitude of resistance to the settlements, "if taken literally and translated into a blueprint for action, would prove worthless for all practical purposes. But this still leaves the values for which he stands " (118) Natty's morality is "constructive because it is critical" (118). it seems to me, however, that Natty's morality guides readers to resist the settlements--In The Deerslayer, it is equally worthless for all practical purposes

6. Like Simms, Cooper links materialism to New England He does so, for instance, in The Littlepage series, which consists of Satanstoe (1845), The Chainbearer (1846), and Redskins (1846) These texts follow three generations of one family of landholders in New York from before the revolution to nearly the 1840s, and they strive to distinguish New York, with its aristocracy and dutch origins, from New England, with its puritanism and economic levellers Throughout this series, Cooper strives to articulate a history of New York which distinguishes it from New England, and his portrayal of New England is, if anything, more dark than Simms's In Satanstoe, for example, Cooper's portrayal of New Englanders is so virulent that he apologizes for it in the introduction to The Chainbearer, yet The Chainbearer introduces men like Aaron Timberman, the squatter from Vermont who is in league with a man from Connecticut, and who, it seems, gets what he

deserves when he [illegible] a stray bullet in the belly Unlike Simms, however, Cooper cannot get beyond a mere negative portrayal. In contrast to greedy New Englanders, he offers the Littlepages, who paid for their land prior to the war (less than one hundred pounds worth of goods for forty thousand acres), fought for the United States in the revolution, and so he claims are entitled to it, if only as some reward for such loyalty, until they choose to sell it Just as Natty is driven from the state by settlers, large landholders are driven from the state by incessantly migrating New Englanders' rapacity and legal acumen. Once again, the best opposition Cooper can offer is that his heroes are not like the evil doers, although at times the distinction is quite minimal. For lack of a convincing rhetorical alternative, Cooper mourns, New York becomes like New England

CHAPTER 4
MANLY BEAUTY AND THE RHETORIC OF PROGRESSIVE CIVILIZATION
FRANCIS PARKMAN'S THE OREGON TRAIL AND HERMAN MELVILLE'S TYPEE

Tommo trades cautiously in the titillating commerce of cannibalism.--Michael Berthold (1992)

[The Oregon Trail], in brief, is excellent, and has the true wild-game flavor.--Herman Melville (1849)

Herman Melville's and Francis Parkman's first long works, Typee (1846) and The Oregon Trail (1849), invoke the contested terms of political economy in fashioning a first-person masculine narrator. Both Melville and Parkman grew up in the industrializing Northeast, but each author's manipulation of the rhetoric reflects his economic prospects and histories. Melville's father died bankrupt, his family struggled to maintain its social position, and Melville took a number of unfulfilling and unrewarding jobs before finally shipping out to sea. Parkman's family lived comparatively lavishly upon the proceeds of past commercial success; as Parkman biographer Robert L. Gale puts it, "[b]ecause of the commercial acumen of Grandfather Samuel, there would always be money" (21). Such financial stability may explain why The Oregon Trail's narrator finally, if ambiguously, negotiates the contested terms of Northeastern economics to

represent himself as a 'civilized" man. In this re-negotiation of identity, Parkman subsumes his claim to manly beauty in order to emphasize his claim to physical and economic invulnerability. Melville's narrator, on the other hand, cannot use the language of economy to achieve even an illusion of a stable self. He abruptly reverts to a domestic space fantasized as "non-economic," the adolescent refuges of "home" and "mother."

Parkman's and Melville's works have been read together before, and critics have commonly emphasized, to celebrate or denounce, the masculine narrators' constitutions of self. Typical is David Levin's comparison of Melville's Typee to Parkman's The Oregon Trail as being like Thoreau's Walden, Irving's A Tour on the Prairies and Dana's Two Years Before the Mast: "Every one of these books profits from a commitment to study the manners of others, to report on a life close to nature, and to use the author's new perspective as a means of revealing new truths about American civilization" (11). Suggesting that texts such as those that Levin cites create their destinations as "other" in order to prop the claims of their original premises, Malini Schueller critiques typical descriptions of Typee (4). Schueller's commonsense retort--that if colonizers explore colonies to discover truths about themselves then

the colonized are effectively silenced--courtesy [illegible] which uncritically repeats that maneuver

A number of recent critics on Parkman and Melville share her concerns. Michael Breitwieser's analysis of Typee reminds readers, "The root of colonialism is so deep that even an apparent rebel may turn out to be an assistant" (397). Philip G. Terrie believes that Parkman resisted accepting the Dahcotah as anything other than "others," and Stephen P. Knadler argues that Parkman constructs "the Indian as 'outcast'--a figure of deviancy which the elite of Boston had to expel from the politicized boundaries of their own, often uncivil, bodies" (216). Harold Beaver sums up this perspective: "what he could not understand, the white man had to control--polemically, politically, economically, and literarily by a restless, observant attention to factual detail" (102)[1].

Although traditional criticism unproblematically distinguishes between "we" and "them," criticism which has striven to decolonize "others" tends to identify "we" as a self-reconstituting, universal, white, patriarchal and imperial male subject. Beaver's is a good example--he condemns "the white man," as if there were but one. Even Schueller, who describes Jimmy and Samoa as liable to disrupt colonial relations, specifies a woman (Annatoo) as

liable to disrupt the gender relations upon which [illegible] relations depend (13-14). The implication is that white men are sexist and racist, that native men are sexist, and that native women are doubly disruptive. Although Schueller's article properly identifies the imperial implications of Melville's text, it essentializes and universalizes men's relationships to the cultural discourses through which their actions are articulated.

Likewise, Kim Townsend usefully describes Parkman's actions from the perspective of his victims, identifying Parkman's "man-making" activity on the plains as violence/aggression against himself and others, but Townsend links Parkman's violence to a specifically male imperative. "Francis Parkman and The Male Tradition" identifies one "male tradition," and hence only one male subject. Townsend is right to depict Parkman's actions as violent, but he is wrong to essentialize violence as "male."

A similar essentialism has affected critical characterizations of Tommo's fascination with beautiful Typees. Even recently, scholars have emphasized Tommo's implicitly "heterosexual" fascination with Fayaway's beauty and de-emphasized his appreciation of the beauty of male islanders like Marnoo. William Heath's "Melville and Marquesan Eroticism," for example, explores Melville's

interaction with Marquesan eroticism entirely in terms of his appreciation of the Marquesan woman. In The Weaver-God, He Weaves (1996), Christopher Sten blithely observes that because of its "barebreasted female forms" "Typee is truly a bachelor's fantasy"--even though Sten argues that Tommo poses as a romantic heroine who is threatened by rape. Despite evidence to the contrary, in short, scholars continue to equate Melville's bachelors with heterosexuals.

Other scholars have emphasized Tommo's "homosexual" appreciation of the beauty of male islanders like Marnoo and de-emphasized his appreciation of Fayaway's beauty. Caleb Crain's "Lovers of Human Flesh: Homosexuality and Cannibalism in Melville's Novels" places Melville's text in the context of descriptions of the Marquesas that admire the beauty of the male islanders, but Crain assumes that the admiration marks homosexual attraction--masked, or displaced, by repulsion from Marquesan cannibalism. Robert Martin suggests that Tommo's appreciation of Marnoo's beauty gives us an opportunity to "see homosexuality." And James Creech cites Melville's "repeatedly lavish[ing] attention on male bodies in general, so very often acknowledged to be beautiful. . . ." as an example of "Nineteenth-Century Homosexual Expression," the title of his chapter.

Pointing to "homosexual" activity in well known American writers undermines contemporary attempts to dismiss homosexuality; it's a useful, short-term political strategy. But doing so also tends to repeat, by reversing, the terms of contemporary discourses that privilege and naturalize heterosexuality. On the other hand, examining Melville in light of antebellum political economy suggests a history through which homo- and heterosexual identities were formed, and demonstrates that they are the product of a shifting cultural discourse, not "nature."

The reductivity of diametrically opposed approaches is underscored by the variety of ways that contemporary notices and reviews address Melville's descriptions of the physical beauty of the male and female islanders. Most entirely miss them. The Democratic Review subsumes the descriptions of beautiful islanders within questions concerning the book's veracity, and finally deems Typee merely "faithfully sketched," "amusing and interesting" (399, May 1846). Hunt's Merchant Magazine celebrates the mix of the narrator's enjoyment of the island's beauty and his "perfect sang froid exhibited in his intercourse with the cannibals" (491, May, 1846).

Others express a kind of "heterosexual" interest in Tommo's depiction of female islanders. The American

Review's extended review of Typee focuses specifically upon the beauty of Typee women, contending that the book's style is "racy and pointed," and finally observing,

> [t]he appearance of the Typee people produced a deep and favorable impression on the mind of Mr. Melville. He considers them models of grace and beauty; the fair come in for a large share of his admiration, and in regard to them he makes some invidious comparisons which we commend to the notice of his countrywomen. (my emphasis, 424, April 1846)

Melville's professed enthusiasm for beautiful women among the Typee can be recognized as slighting the beauty of American women; the reviewer implies that Melville may have ruined his prospects of finding what he simply assumes Melville desires: favor among his countrywomen.

The Harbinger's notice, on the other hand, emphasizes the beauty of the Typee men, points to Typee as a rebuke of the beauty of American men, and links its reproach to a critique of contemporary economic conditions in the Northeast. It describes the Typees' islands as indicating perfected economic conditions, and it suggests that such conditions are possible for United States culture "through the [exercise of the] combined industry and wealth and power of a United Race" (263). The review then links the beauty of the perfected islands with the beauty of its inhabitants: "Of the inhabitants of these islands we have accounts quite as striking as of the islands themselves. All writers unite

in declaring them to be most perfect specimens of physical beauty, symmetry and health" (263) As evidence of this assertion, the reviewer immediately quotes Melville's descriptions of physical beauty among the islanders--"'In beauty of form they surpassed anything I had ever seen'" (263) Implied is The Harbinger's belief that the kind of physical beauty presently available among the Typee would be available in the United States, given a reformed economic system.

Fisher's short notice of Typee focuses upon the same excerpt with which The Harbinger begins its review, indicating the resonance of the passage for these two economic journals These two are, in fact, the only two American reviews that are noted in Higgins' and Hershel's Contemporary Reviews to dwell on the islanders' beauty. A partisan advocate of protective tariffs, Fisher's only reluctantly reproduces Melville's and The Harbinger's enthusiasm for representing Typee men as beautiful

> The women he describes as uncommonly beautiful, the men, in almost every instance, of lofty stature, scarcely ever less than six feet in height; and he thus further speaks of them "I was especially struck by their physical strength and beauty, which they displayed by their great superiority, in this respect, over the inhabitants of the neighbouring bay of Nukuheva In beauty of form, they surpassed any thing I had seen, not a single instance of deformity was observable in all the throng attending the revels" (1172, May 1846)

Fisher's short gloss of the passage dilutes the impact of the passage it quotes--in which Melville conjoins physical strength and beauty as elements of the Typee men's physical superiority. The gloss describes the women as "uncommonly beautiful," and it identifies the men as "of lofty stature." This context seems to refer "physical strength" to the Typee men--in the form of their uncommon height. "Beauty" seems to go to the Typee women. Grammatically, however, the reviewer's "them" does refer to the Typee men, so the review ascribes both strength and beauty to Typee men.

That these reviews reproduce and share Melville's enthusiasm for representations of manhood as beautiful would be surprising if their enthusiasm were reducible to "nineteenth-century homosexual expression" or heterosexual expression, phrases which in themselves are anachronistic descriptions of the antebellum United States. Vern Bullough's The Invention of Heterosexuality describes antebellum bodies as neither homosexual nor heterosexual, or perhaps as both. Bullough implies that antebellum bodies were defined as manly or womanly in terms of their productivity. "Human energy, thought of as a closed and severely limited system subject to exhaustion, was to be used in work, in producing children, and in sustaining love and family, not wasted on unproductive, libidinous

pleasures" (45). It seems likely that womanly bodies were often also linked to reproductivity, manly bodies mainly to productivity. Even so, Bullough's suggestion explains why representations of ideal masculine bodies could be linked to metaphors of economic production which relied upon a circulatory system[2]. An economic system that stimulated productive labor through commerce would catalyze the development of productive/ civilized/ manly bodies.

The Harbinger's portrayal of a combination of "industry and wealth and power" as a means of achieving "future perfections" like the Typees' beautiful bodies uses the Typees to advance its thesis that the Northeast's manufacturing-based economy--which relies upon regulated trade, competition, and increased consumption rather than extended commerce and combination to foster increased production--commonly produces deformed laboring bodies (263). Fisher's notice of the Typees' beautiful bodies suggests that journal's recognition of a dilemma, and an expression of some confusion--Fisher's reluctantly agrees that beautiful male bodies should be recognized as an ideal, but it shies away from the self-recriminations that accepting such an ideal implies. It seems to me, then, that Tommo's erotic/sexual depictions of beautiful men and women mark his text's participation in this debate over the

implications of manly beauty for economic rhetoric, and vice-versa.

In fact, both Parkman's and Melville's first-person narrators repeat Fisher's confusion over "manly" qualities: each expresses an enthusiasm for laboring manly bodies which are beautiful and civilized. Nonetheless, among white men such as Tommo's Toby, the narrator's regard for manly beauty is initially displaced, and finally replaced with an admiration of strength, indicated by a capacity for violence.

> Arrayed in his blue frock and duck trousers, he was as smart a looking sailor as ever stepped upon a deck; he was singularly small and slightly made, with great flexibility of limb. His naturally dark complexion had been deepened by exposure to the tropical sun, and a mass of jetty locks clustered about his temples, and threw a darker shade into his black eyes. (32)

Describing Toby as having a "naturally dark complexion"--only darkened by his exposure to the the sun--links Toby's looks to the natives' dark complexions; as represented here Toby is, like Cooper's Raoul Yvard, not a "white" man. Moreover, even if this description encourages us to enjoy the look of Toby, it only hints at the insistent aestheticism with which, for instance, Marnoo is later described. Finally, this portrait of Toby is anchored with a description of Toby's "quick and fiery temper": "I have seen a brawny fellow, with no lack of ordinary courage,

fairly quail before this slender stripling, when in one of his furious fits" (32). Although Toby's beauty is a mark of his superior refinement, his economic stature forces him to gird his looks with violence.

In The Oregon Trail, no man is more dangerous than Henry Chatillon, the men whose looks, like Toby's, are more prepossessing than any other white man in the text. Henry is

> our guide and hunter, a fine athletic figure, mounted on a hardy gray Wyandot pony. He wore a white blanket-coat, a broad hat of felt, moccasons, and pantaloons of deer skin, ornamented along the seams with rows of long fringes. . . . His age was about thirty; he was six feet high, and very powerfully and gracefully moulded. . . . (47-49)

As Parkman's descriptions of the native Americans often do, this description of Henry encourages us to enjoy the spectacle of his body--Henry is a pleasure to look at. Like Toby, however, Henry is linked to non-Anglos--Henry is of French descent, he has married a Dahcotah woman, and he "had not the restless energy of an Anglo-American" (49). And as in Melville, Parkman's description of a beautiful white man lacks the aesthetic qualities, the insistence on beauty, which often marks Parkman's descriptions of native American men. Finally, like Toby, Henry's graceful body is defended by appeals to physical dangerousness:

> Henry was very seldom involved in quarrels. Once

> or twice, indeed, his quiet good nature had been mistaken and presumed upon, but the consequences of the error were so formidable, that no one was ever known to repeat it. No better evidence of the intrepidity of his temper could be wished, than the common report that he had killed more than thirty grizzly bears (50)

Henry's has a "grizzly" temper, but "[h]e was content to take things as he found them, and his chief fault arose from an excess of easy generosity, impelling him to give away too profusely ever to thrive in the world" (49). This description of Henry also indicates the obstacle to Parkman's imitation of Henry's beauty. Henry will never thrive in the world, but Parkman, because he is a restless Anglo-saxon, will.

The descriptions of these white men who, like the natives, are represented as good looking indicate a Fisher's-like confusion over the competing qualities that constituted Anglo-saxon manliness. Both authors admire beautiful men, but each acknowledges that beautiful Anglo-saxon men are targets for violence, that beautiful bodies must be defended, and even then can best be maintained, Toby-like, in "other" economic circumstances, or Henry-like, beyond the bounds of American economic conditions. Both narrators represent themselves in terms of marginally "non-Northeastern" masculine identities, on the frontiers, placing themselves in cultural positions similar to Toby's

and Henry's, and providing themselves with greater latitude to explore beautiful self-representations, like those advocated in The Harbinger's review. Tommo joins the Typees, albeit by mistake, and becomes a part of that community briefly. The narrator of The Oregon Trail, whom I will refer to as Parkman, contacts native Americans specifically to observe and enact elements of native American culture.

> I had come into the country almost exclusively with a view of observing the Indian character. To accomplish my purpose it was necessary to live in the midst of them, and become, as it were, one of them. I proposed to join a village, and make myself an inmate of one of their lodges. . . . (168)

Parkman's adventure situates him as two people: Parkman a spectator and, qualifiedly, Parkman a participant. Parkman the spectator admires native American men as beautiful. Parkman the participant, an "inmate" of a controlled captivity narrative, "becomes, as it were, one of them."

As spectator, Parkman describes the Dahcotah braves he intends to join in the very terms with which Melville describes the beautiful Marnoo.

> Some sat on horseback, motionless as equestrian statues, their arms crossed on their breasts. Others again stood carelessly among the throng, with nothing to conceal the matchless symmetry of their forms; I do not exaggerate when I say, that only on the prairie and in the Vatican have I seen such faultless models of human beings. See that warrior standing by the tree, towering six and a

> half in stature. Your eyes may trace the whole of his graceful and majestic height, and discover no defect or blemish. With his free and noble attitude, with the bow in his hand, and the quiver at his back, he might seem, but for his face, the Pythian Apollo himself. Such a figure rose before the imagination of West, when on first seeing the Belvidere [sic] in the Vatican, he exclaimed, "My God, a Mohawk!" (211)

Like these native Americans, Marnoo is "above the ordinary height," characterized by "the matchless symmetry of his form," and a living incarnation of the Apollo Belvedere. The similarity of the terms indicates that referring to non-white men as objects of aesthetic appreciation was a well-known trope. Given that, the narrator's use of just those terms indicates his own degree of culture--that like Tommo and Toby he has a temperament capable of appreciating, and a vocabulary appropriate to expressing, the aesthetic beauty of the human form. Parkman's easy reference to his visit to the Vatican cements that connection.

To some extent, then, Parkman's aestheticized portraits of the native Americans reflect an image of himself, but what does the reflection look like? Parkman's final fully developed portrait of a Dahcotah man gives some indications of the self-portrait which Parkman is describing.

> He was a very noble looking fellow. As he suffered his ornamented buffalo-robe to fall in folds about his loins, his stately and graceful figure was fully displayed; and while he sat his horse in an easy attitude, the long feathers of the prairie-cock fluttering from the crown of his

> head, he seemed the very model of a wild prairie-rider. He had not the same features with those of other Indians. Unless his handsome face greatly belied him, he was free from the jealousy, suspicion and malignant cunning of his people. For the most part, a civilized white man can discover but very few points of sympathy between his own nature and that of an Indian. . . . Yet, in the countenance of the Panther, I gladly read that there were at least some points of sympathy between him and me. (336-337)

This language repeats earlier descriptions of Apollo-like Dahcotahs. While the statuesque braves "stood careleasly," the Panther rides "easy." The braves are "graceful and majestic," and the Panther is "stately and graceful." The braves have "a noble attitude," and the Panther is "a very noble looking fellow." They are "faultless models of human beinge," and the Panther is "the very model of a wild prairie-rider." Yet the Panther is a strange amalgamation--he has the stereotypical body of a "wild prairie-rider," but he has the head of a white man: "He had not the same features. . . . in the countenance of the Panther, I gladly read that there were at last some points of sympathy between him and me." The Panther's "handsome face" marks him as unlike "other Indians." He has the body of an Indian, but the Panther has the face and nature of a "civilized white man." Like Parkman, the Panther is only, "as it were, one of them."

Parkman's discovery of "points of sympathy" to describe his relationship with the Panther--and, through the Panther, with the other warriors--marks the kind of commerce he hopes to have with the Dahootah In fact, Parkman's choice of "sympathy" to depict the relationship recalls the subject and title of the first chapter of the first section of Adam Smith's Of Systems of Moral Philosophy Sympathy, according to Smith, is the principle "in [a man's] nature which interest[s] him in the fortunes of others and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it" (73) Sympathy, for Smith, maintains social stability: Because humans not only extend sympathy but also desire sympathy (85), individuals temper their most violent or inappropriate passions in order to curry broader sympathy Sympathy, then, tends to the establishment of a standard of socially acceptable behavior, "And hence it is that to feel much for others and little for ourselves, that to restrain our selfish and to indulge our benevolent affections, constitutes the perfection of human nature, and can alone produce among mankind that harmony of sentiments and passions in which consists their whole grace and propriety" (88)- Like Parkman's and the Panther's relationship, sympathy assumes a spectator and a spectacle—

one recognizes the signs of the other's emotion and, to the degree that he judges them appropriate, he sympathizes.

Smith's version of sympathy is, according to Stewart Justman, "the binding force of the commercial order--a principle whose workings are deeper, swifter, and surer than reason" (3). The principle operates, according to Justman, like the division of labor.

> On the far end of the scale [of social interdependence] would be Europeans with a highly elaborated division of labor that served needs and awakened wants and caught the individual in "a strong web" of dependence running in all directions, like the strong invisible filaments of sympathy binding Adam Smith's moral universe. In principle, that web restrains men's dangerous passions and stabilizes their dealings with one another better than the rough engines of repression. (45)

Sympathy is analogous to commercial interdependence: each binds individuals together through the discovery that they share desires, that some of their desires must be regulated in order to maintain the social contract by which citizens express their interest in each other's goods. Parkman's "sympathy" with the Panther mirrors commercial exchanges such as those between laborers who protect the property rights of those neighbors with whom they trade because they require their neighbors' goods.

When Parkman indicates that there are "points of sympathy between him and me," he admits that he recognizes

in the Panther a person whose gaze/moral judgment can be trusted as a gauge of his own. If Parkman the spectator represents the Panther, and picturesque natives, as increasingly like him, Parkman the participant represents himself as increasingly a part of the picture. The steady acclimatization to prairie life of Parkman's wardrobe is an index of the progress of his narrative. He indicates this gauge at the very outset of the trip, in the chapter titled "Breaking the Ice".

> At that time our attire, though far from elegant, bore some marks of civilization, and offered a very favorable contrast to the inimitable shabbiness of our appearance on the return journey. A red flannel shirt, belted around the waist like a frock, then constituted our upper garment; [radiant] moccasins had supplanted our failing boots, and the remaining essential portion of our attire consisted of an extraordinary article, manufactured by a squaw out of smoked buckskin. (49)

Not only does Parkman's mode of wearing his red flannel shirt recall the Panther's mode of wearing his buffalo skin, "so that his stately and graceful figure was fully displayed," but Parkman's reference to "the remaining essential portion of our attire" increases the sense of his nakedness, and the titillation of this description. Parkman is wearing around his privates something which Indians wear--and only what is essential! Is it a loincloth? The

flirtatiousness of this foreshadowed event suggests that this is a textual undercurrent which readers will remark.

The text is no slow striptease. Parkman's transformation occurs as a sudden rebirth immediately on the morning following his first night in the Ogillah village. Ravaged by chronic incontinence, Parkman disconsolately notes thunderclouds gathering on the horizon:

> Then, for the first time, it pressed upon me as a strong probability that I might never leave those deserts. "Well," thought I to myself, "a prairie makes quick and sharp work. Better to die here, in the saddle to the last, than to stifle in the hot air of a sick chamber, and a thousand times better than to drag out life, as many have done, in the helpless inaction of a lingering disease." So, drawing the buffalo-robe on which I sat, over my head, I waited till the storm should come. It broke at last with a sudden burst of fury, and passing away as rapidly as it came, left the sky clear again. My reflections served me no other purpose than to look back upon as a piece of curious experience; for the rain did not produce the ill effects that I had expected. (266)

Instead of dying on the prairie, Parkman is merely forced to change his wet clothes. He borrows "a curious kind of substitute from Reynal, and this done, I went home, that is, to the Big Crow lodge, to make the entire transfer that was necessary" (266). Parkman's wardrobe dies upon the prairie, but Parkman is given a second life. His recognition of the seriousness of his body's sickness seems to mark the possibility of his corporeal renewal in the guise of a Dahcotah.

Marking the change, Parkman changes into the clothes of a native American, theatrically "mistakes" Big Crow's lodge as "home," and for the first time draws attention to his own nakedness: "Half a dozen squaws were in the lodge, and one of them taking my arm held it against her own, while a general laugh and scream of admiration was raised at the contrast in color of the skin" (267). If we had not been interested enough about how naked Parkman becomes, the text introduces spectators--the Dahcotah women--to witness his naked white body. We must be satisfied with seeing just Parkman's arm, but the naked arm is a metonym for his whole body, now exposed through its Dahcotah garb. The whiteness of his arm suggests that, despite the "entire transfer," Parkman remains a civilized white man, but this enumeration of his own body transformed into the guise of a Dahcotah indicates that Parkman's explicit descriptions of the Dahcotahs stand in for absent descriptions of Parkman. The Panther, with a white man's head and a Dahcotah body, seems crafted as a reflection of Parkman. The descriptions of the Apollo-like Dahcotah enable Parkman to link the words "civilized white man" to "beautiful" and "statue-like." Indeed, even Parkman's and the Panther's names are similar, a gauge of the men's sympathy with one another.

Parkman repeats "we were excellent friends" to describe his relationship not only with the Panther but also with just one other person in the text, a native American, Paul, whose name happens also to begin with a "P." Parkman's friendship with Paul is formed through trade:

> Extending his long wiry hand, he welcomed me with something more cordial than the ordinary cold salute of an Indian, for we were excellent friends. He had made an exchange of horses to our mutual advantage; and Paul, thinking himself well-treated, had declared everywhere that the white man had a good heart. (178)

The trade is described as mutually beneficial, not even necessarily as an exchange of items which are of equal market value. The two men have made an agreement which advances both, and which promotes the possibility of proportionately advanced, future cooperation. Neither, in short, is diminished by the trade.

Parkman's "excellent" trading friendship with Paul prefigures his "excellent" friendship with the Panther, which foregrounds a more loosely organized commercial exchange based on sympathy. The Panther's teaching Parkman the Dahcotah language represents a fuller elucidation of the mutually advantageous "commerce" between Parkman and Paul. The worth of this linguistic trade is materialized in Parkman's and the Panther's mutual consumption of gooseberries, which immediately follows the linguistic

lesson. If both are consumers here, they are harmless herbivores, their consumption motivated through cooperation and exchange, and liable to promote further exchange.

Nonetheless, Parkman's tenuous access to "beautiful" as a term for self-representation competes with a less savory reflection of Parkman. If Parkman discovers "some points of sympathy" between himself and the Panther, he identifies a similarly expressed "bond of sympathy" between himself and Reynal, a white man who has married a Dahcotah woman and lives with the tribe. Reynal is the the forerunner of Parkman's experiment and the midwife of Parkman's transformation into a Dahcotah. Not only does "Reynal [think] proper to to lay aside his trapper's dress of buckskin and assume the very scanty costume of an Indian" (346), but it is Reynal who loans the "curious kind of substitute" for Parkman's own clothes which allow Parkman's "entire transfer." Parkman's feelings for Reynal remain mysterious to Parkman:

> Reynal and I had, I believe, hardly a feeling in common. I disliked the fellow, and it perplexed me a good deal to understand why I should look with so much interest on the ashes of his fire, when between him and me there seemed no other bond of sympathy than the slender and precarious one of a kindred race" (241-242).

But the fact is that in this chapter, titled "Hunting Indians," the ashes of Reynal's fire place Reynal where

Parkman would like to be among the Dahcoteh whose roving village Parkman hopes to overteke end join. Discovering 'points of sympathy" with the etetue-esque Panther relies upon Parkman's becoming like Reynal. That Parkman describes the connections in similler terms, as "points of sympathy" and a "bond of sympathy," suggests that his links to Reynal and the Panther are not only synchronous but also almost synonomous.

Like the Panther's, Reynal's ostentetious self-displays echo Parkman's subtle self-exposures:

> A vegrant Indian trader, named Reynel, joined us, together with his equew Margot, and her two nephews, our dendy friend, "The Horse," and his younger brother, "The Hail Storm."
>
> Reynel, the trader, the image of sleek and selfish complacency, carried 'The Horse's' dragoon-sword in his hand, delighting apparently in this useless parade, for, from spending half his life among Indians, he had caught not only their habits but their ideas. (170-171)

Parkman believes that Reynal is showing off when he carries the Horse's sword, but Parkman rides ahead of the Dahcoteh with the Panther. Moreover, Parkmen's understanding of Reynal's actions echoe Parkmen's titillating account of being exposed by the elements. Both Reynal and Parkman invite spectators.

Finally, to Parkmen, Reynal is prodigal--Reynel is an "Indian trader," a result of his "spending half his life among Indians," an expenditure which Parkman notes

accumulates only what is "useless." The poverty of trading like an Indian, for Parkman, seems emphasized by the chain of possessives attached to "'The Horse's' dragoon-sword"--Reynal carries it but does not own it. The Horse displays, via Reynal, it but it is a dragoon-sword, and hence "belongs" to the United States government.

Parkman associates Reynal's acts with those of his companion, "The Horse," whom he calls our "dandy friend." Describing Reynal as having absorbed a propensity for Dahcotah-like dandyism is a first step in dissociating Reynal's self-display from Parkman's. That tenuous distinction, however, has little to do with Reynal's propensity for self-display; instead, it is determined by each man's relative industry. In order to illustrate the distinction, Parkman contrasts "The Horse" with his younger brother, "The Hail Storm":

> He had lately killed his first deer, and this had excited aspirations after distinction. Since that time he had been continually in search of game, and no young hunter in the village had been so active or so fortunate as he. . . . [N]ow, in the confidence of his own reputation, he began to assume the airs and the arts of a man of gallantry. He wore his red blanket dashingly over his left shoulder, painted his cheeks every day with vermilion, and hung pendants of shells in his ears. If I observed aright, he met with very good success in his new pursuits.
>
> His elder brother, the Horse, was of a different character. He was nothing but a lazy dendy. He knew very well how to hunt, but preferred to live by the hunting of others. He

> had no appetite for distinction . . . He had a dark and ugly face, and he passed a great part of his time in adorning it with vermilion, and contemplating it by means of a little pocket looking-glass which I gave him.

This distinction suggests that self-display is perfectly fine--both the Hail Storm and the Horse paint themselves with vermilion and otherwise bedeck themselves to attract the admiration of others. The Hail Storm avoids being called a dandy only because his gallantry is backed by industriousness, but the Horse's is not. The Horse merely consumes what hunters like the Hail Storm produce. One might say that if the Horse is "nothing but a lazy dandy," then the Hail Storm is nothing but an active/productive dandy, which is to say, he is no dandy at all.

Although Reynal associates with a dandy, and momentarily seems to have absorbed some associated ideas, Reynal cannot be so easily dismissed. Parkman describes Reynal's hunting forays in some detail, and he and Reynal even go hunting together. Nor is the description of Reynal as a "vagrant Indian trader" necessarily a condemnation, considering Parkman's enthusiasm for trade with Paul. The nexus of Parkman's various condemnations of Reynal is that Reynal is a "bad trader"--his trade emphasizes accumulation rather than commerce. For instance, when two trappers leave their equipment for Reynal to watch, Reynal muses that if

they don't make it back, he can sell the traps for fifty dollars. And even on Reynal's and Parkman's hunting trip in the Black Hills, Reynal predicts that given enough time he could find gold in those hills. Reynal desires to accumulate cash reserves as capital rather than producing products for mutually advantageous exchange.

A parallel to Reynal's ambitions is illustrated by Le Cochon, the Hog, one of the first native American Parkman describes.

> Among the rest was a huge bloated savage, of more than three hundred pounds, weight, christened Le Cochon, in consideration of his prepoaterous dimensions, and certain corresponding traits of his charactrer. The old man was not a chief; he had never had ambition enough to become one; he was not a warrior nor a hunter, for he was too fat and lazy; but he was the richest man in the whole village. Riches among the Dahcotahs consist in horses, and of these 'The Hog' had accumulated more than thirty. He had already ten times as many as he wanted, yet still his appetite for horses was insatiable. (142)

The Hog's appetite for horses, of which "[r]iches consist among the Dahcotahs," foreshadows Reynal's desire to collect gold. The Hog is, after all, literally an "Indian trader," the term that Parkman pairs with "dandy" to denigrate Reynal in the first place. Reynal's propensity to trade selfishly is, according to Parkman's descriptions, another "Indian" habit which Reynal has adopted.

However much the Hog foreshadows Reynal, he is also an alternate incarnation of Reynal's compatriot, the Horse. In fact, the Hog and the Horse share the similarity of names which marks Parkman's and the Panther's relationship Instead of being described as equally statuesque, both the Horse and the Hog are described as equally repugnant the Horse has a dark and ugly face, and the Hog is grotesquely heavy, with "little eyes peeping out between the masses of flesh that almost obscured them" (142) In both cases, the men's appearances correspond with their idleness The Horse is too lazy to hunt, and the Horse is "too fat and lazy " Both men are idle and ugly. They also share a more important attribute both are figured as mere consumers

This juxtaposition of the two native American men emphasizes the inconsequence of the dandy-like Horse's mode of consumption and the danger of the bloated and accumulating Hog's The Horse has "no appetite for distinction"--he leeches off the produce of others, and he desires spectators. The Hog lacks ambition to become a warrior, a hunter, or a chief, but he has an "appetite for horses " The Horse's appetite is figured negatively--"he had no appetite for distinction " He wants nothing, he seems helpless, and Parkman even enhances his opportunity to ridicule the Horse by giving the Horse a mirror The Hog's

appetite, however, figures positively, and menacingly. The description of his "appetite for horses" is a play on words. The Hog could eat a horse, he's so hungry. The very size of the man suggests that he really could. Truth is, the Hog might eat the Horse--the Hog might literally be a maneater. The Horse, after all, is physically and economically vulnerable--he sits exposed, he produces nothing, and his name suggests his economic transferability.

It is economic cannibalism with which the true "Indian trader," the Hog, threatens Parkman, in the form of what Parkman calls, "a matrimonial bargain. He said he had a very pretty daughter in his lodge, whom he would give me, if I would give him my horse" (143). This, Parkman later writes, is "the established price" but only "the first price," one followed by "the formidable burden of feeding and supporting a rapacious horde of the bride's relatives, who hold themselves entitled to feed upon the indiscreet white man. They gather round like leeches, and drain him of all he has" (195).

That, finally, happens to Reynal, who has married into the Dahcotahs. Reynal marries "Margot, a female animal of more than two hundred pounds" (171) whose

> overgrown bulk [is] stowed away among her domestic implements, furs, robes, blankets, and painted cases of par'fleche, in which dried meat is kept. Here she sat from sunrise to sunset, a bloated

impersonation of gluttony and laziness, while [illegible] affectionate proprietor was smoking or perchance engaged in the more profitable occupation of cooking some preparation of prairie delicacies (175)

Despite his "profitable occupation," Reynal's profits are literally eaten up by his hungry wife, whose large body amongst the contents of the "oven-shaped tent" is the most visible symbol of Reynal's possessions. Parkman's sarcastic description of Reynal as "her affectionate proprietor" handily summarizes the extent to which Reynal's "possession" owns him. Margot's physical similarity to the Hog suggests that, by extension, Reynal is owned by, and victim of, the Hog as well. Reynal, the trader, has made a bad trade. To Parkman, Reynal seems trapped in a system which requires him to accumulate enough profits to feed the insatiable native Americans (his wife and her extended family) who live off of his production. The very fact that Reynal can be productive, unlike the Horse, makes him a target of the Hog's appetite for horses.

"'I call this the poor man's market," Raymond Aaaerts, surveying the prairie. 'When I'm hungry, I have only got to take my rifle and go out and get better meat than the rich folks down below can get, with all their money. You won't catch me living in St. Louis another winter'" (252). Reynal's response, "'you had better say that, after you and

your Spanish woman almost starved to death there. What a fool you were ever to take her to the settlements,'" indicates that the prairie offers economic opportunity which the settlements refused. As in the settlements, economic destruction on the prairie is figured as starvation. Parkman's dramatic reference to the Donner Party, "they were interrupted by the deep snows among the mountains, and maddened by cold and hunger, fed upon each other's flesh!" (182), invokes cannibalism as a means of avoiding starvation, of succeeding in the "poor man's market." Reynal is not yet starving, but even in "the poor man's market" he is being worked to the bone.

A critique of the Northeast's free labor system seems inherent to this description of Reynal's predicament. The fate of a runaway slave who gets lost on the prairie re-emphasizes that critique. The former slave had "run away from his master about a year before and joined the party of M. Richard. . . ." (209), but had become separated from the party and disappeared. His lack of knowledge and hunting skill had sealed his fate in what Raymond calls "the poor man's market": "Knowing his inexperience and helplessness, no one dreamed that he could still be living" (209). The former slave survives for thirty-three days by eating insects and bugs, but the effect upon his body is

disastrous: "His cheeks were withered and shrunken in the hollow of his jaws, his eyes were unnaturally dilated, and his lips seemed shrivelled and drawn back from his teeth like those of a corpse . . . [H]e had walked on in despair, and then crawled on his knees, until the bone was laid bare" (206).

Despite his industry, the man is horrific. And all the while, he waxes nostalgic over the days when he was enslaved, even though he'd been free for a year before getting lost: he had dreamed "of the broth and corn-cake he used to eat under his old master's shed in Missouri' (208). The simplest understanding of the former slave's story suggests that the black man was better off enslaved than "free."

The story also literalizes the impact of Parkman's sarcastic description of Reynal as a false "proprietor" commanded by what he supposedly possesses, Reynal is both starved and enslaved by the "free" labor system. As the former slave's, and Reynal's, stories suggest, within an economic system which fosters trading for accumulation rather than for mutual advantage, industry may distinguish man from ugly men like the Horae, but it can invite deformities like the Hog's and the slave's. The question for Parkman becomes, how can he imagine himself as

beautiful, and industrious? How can he recognize a sympathy with the Panther but reject sympathy with Reynai, the Horse, the slave, or the Hog?

Parkman responds by rethinking his relationship to the productions of the prairie. He becomes an incompetent producer and consumer, he desires activity, but he is forced into idleness. He eats appropriately, but he cannot benefit from what he consumes. Appropriately, Parkman's digestive disorder appears suddenly, almost opportunely, one page after Parkman has announced his determination to "become, as it were, one of them": "I had been slightly ill for weeks, but on the third night after reaching Fort Laramie a violent pain awoke me, and I found myself attacked by the same disorder which occasioned such heavy losses to the army on the Rio Grande" (170). Parkman had hardly mentioned the slight illness prior to this, and although the disease remains with Parkman throughout the text, he remarks upon it only once during the final 110 pages following his exit from the Dahcotah village. During his visit with the Dahcotah, however, the disease presents a significant obstacle to Parkman's activity.

For example, the first third of the book presents us with a number of stirring accounts of Parkman's enthusiasm for hunting and running buffalo, specifically in the chapter

titled "The Buffalo." The final third of the book is more rife with examples of Parkman's successful destruction of buffalo, and it is punctuated with a chapter titled, "The Buffalo Camp." Nonetheless, through the middle third of the book Parkman kills only two antelope--one which was wounded before he sees it, and both of which he kills with compassion because they are such "beautiful" creatures: "When I stood by its side, the antelope turned his expiring eye upward. It was like a beautiful woman's, dark and rich" (187), and "His glistening eyes turned up toward me with so piteous a look, that it was with feelings of infinite compunction that I shot him through the head with a pistol" (235). What Parkman sees of himself in the eyes of the antelope is a matter of conjecture, but one thing is clear. For Parkman, immediately prior to and during his time with the Dahcotah, hunting becomes a much more ambivalent occupation, more clearly a means of destroying beauty[2].

Despite his instinct for activity, Parkman, who "dreaded the languor and monotony" (328) of the camp, remains a reluctant or incompetent hunter during his entire stay. While actually in the Dahcotah camp, Parkman does give in to his desire to be active, he participates in one hunt, despite having "left camp that morning with a philosophic resolution. Neither I nor my horse were at that

time fit for such sport, and I had determined to remain a quiet spectator, but. . . . I found it impossible to sit still" (281). He lodges a pistol bullet in a buffalo cow, but she runs off with "unabated speed" (281). Parkman even hunts in what he calls "a hunter's paradise," the Black Hills, with Reynal, but neither he nor Reynal catches anything, and Parkman even breaks his rifle in a fall. Parkman's time with the Dahcotah is marked by much hunting activity, but no tangible effects.

The same could be said of Parkman's consumption during his stay with the Dahcotah. He introduces himself into the Dahcotah village by arranging a feast featuring a white dog: "a white dog is the dish which the customs of the Dahcotah prescribe for all occasions of formality and importance" (258). This inauguration is itself ominously cannibalistic, given Parkman's description of another native American custom: the association of white dogs and white men: "they were determined to kill the first of the white dogs whom they could lay hands on" (303). But that feast begins a number of feasts in which, Parkman complains that politness compels him to participate.

Despite evidence of Parkman's appetite, or capacity, for consumption, Parkman repeatedly re-asserts his incapacity for using the food. Rather than satisfying him,

the food depletes him, exacerbates his disease, and leaves him weaker than it found him. At points, for simple self-preservation, Parkman gives up food nearly altogether:

> I tried repose and a very sparing diet. For a long time, with exemplary patience, I lounged about the camp, or at the utmost staggered over to the Indian village, and walked faint and dizzy among the lodges. It would not do, and I bethought me of starvation. During five days I sustained life on one small biscuit a day. At the end of that time I was weaker than before, but the disorder seemed shaken in its strong-hold, and very gradually I began to resume a less rigid diet. No sooner had I done so than the same detested symptoms revisited me, my old enemy resumed his pertinacious assaults. (213)

Parkman's solution seems a symptom of his problem. His persistent incontinence provides an excuse for energetic nonparticipation, but it marks the bodily infirmity which he is trying to escape. He lounges like the Horse, he eats (at times) like the Hog, and he starves like the former slave. How can we believe that he looks like the Panther?

The remedy for Parkman's incontinence foreshadows the means by which he gains access to the Panther's beauty. Parkman describes himself as a "strong-hold," one which can be strengthened against incontinence by the assumption of a "rigid diet." Self-petrification, or self-rigidification, provides Parkman a means by which he can eat yet defend himself against appearing to be like the broken-bodied, former slave, or the body-breaking Hog. Retrospectively,

the statuesque qualities of the native Americans whom Parkman admires become as important to him for their beauty as for the physical hardness which the description implies. The very native Americans whom Parkman portrays as Apollo-like he describes in terms reminscent of fortresses: they are armed with "quivers at their backs, and guns, lances or tomahawks in their hands" (210). They sit or stand "motionless," "unwavering," "and faultless"--"towering six feet and a half in stature" (211). Like the Panther, they do not so much expose themselves as they "suffered their robes to fall from their shoulders," so that such exposure seems a potential breach of physical defensiveness, a likely forerunner of potential assault. Parkman represents the image of a "civilized white man" in terms derived from but other than beauty and trade: the civilized man maintains the fiction of a rock-hard, impenetrable body, to mark his independence from (but to confess his flight from) a labor system which bloats some and starves others.

Parkman's relationship with the Panther relies not only upon mutually advantageous trade but also upon the mutual recognition of physical impenetrability. His realization that the Panther differs from the other Dahcotah distinguishes the Panther from a group whom a white man "could shoot . . . with as little compunction as they

themselves would experience after performing the same office upon him" (337). The important realization that neither will shoot the other leads to an oral exchange which echoes Parkman's "rigid diet " The Panther "occupied himself very zealously in teaching me the Dahcotah language" until this exchange segues into a shared meal (337). The two men stop to gather gooseberries. They "suffer exposure" here, only to those who will not take advantage of it.

Parkman bolsters his claim to beauty by "othering," as deforming and savage, the qualities of the free labor system which conflict with the rhetoric of progressive civilization. The extent to which the "othering" is incomplete is indicated by the defensive "hardening" of his self-descriptions. Parkman's final exchange with the Panther emphasizes the impact of the Northeast's changing economic discourses upon the image of the "civilized" man. After one more lesson in the the Dahcotah language with the Panther, Parkman examines

> a deep, clear pool, formed by the water of the spring. A shoal of little fishes of about a pin's length were playing in it, sporting together, as it seemed, very amicably; but on closer observation, I saw that they were engaged in a cannibal warfare among themselves. Now and then a small one would fall a victim, and immediately disappear down the maw of his voracious conqueror. Every moment, however, the tyrant of the pool, a monster about three inches long, with staring goggle eyes, would slowly issue forth with quivering fins and tail from under the sheltering

> bank. The small fry at this would suspend their hostilities, and scatter in a panic at the appearance of overwhelming force. (341)

This is the language of both natural selection and economic competition, a naturalization of the relationship between the bloated Hog and his broken down, consumed victims, but Parkman responds to it positively: "'Soft-hearted philanthropists,' thought I, 'may sigh long for their peaceful millennium, for from minnows up to men, life is an incessant battle'" (341). If part of the lesson of The Oregon Trail has been that cannibal warfare and economic competition undergirds what seems less serious, Parkman's position outside of the pool, and the fact that he "towers" above the three-inch tyrant, allows him to respond to this description with grim approval. He has immunized himself to this "sport."

Parkman even leaves the Dahcotah to engage in cannibal warfare, of a sort, or at least to nudge natural selection along. He indulges himself in the exorbitant destruction of buffalo, an animal of which he had earlier claimed, "When the buffalo are extinct, [the Dahcotah] too must dwindle away" (199). He limits himself to the male of the species, he explains, because killing the bulls does not affect the species' viability as much as killing the cows does, but that doesn't explain the joy Parkman expresses in killing

the ugly bulls.

> [T]he world may be searched in vain to find any thing of a more ugly and ferocious aspect. At first sight of him every feeling of sympathy vanishes, no man who has not experienced it, can understand with what keen relish one inflicts his death wound, with what profound contentment of mind he beholds him fall. The cows are much smaller and of a gentler appearence, as becomes their sex. (418)

Parkman's relationship with the buffalo is precisely the reverse of his relationship with the Panther--when Parkman faces so "ugly" an aspect, "every feeling of sympathy vanishes." Killing these bulls is as easy as killing "a troublesome and dangerous species of wild beast," the terms Parkmen uses to describe the native Americans who are not like the Panther.

The extraordinary relish for killing male buffalo/Dahcotah derives merely from eliminating "ugly" from the world. "'You are,'" Parkman later serenades one bull, "'too ugly to live,' . . . and aiming at the ugliest, I shot three of them in succession." (440) To Parkman, destroying the ugly bulls is analogous to destroying the ugly Dahcotah, like the Horse and the Hog. It is also to demonstrate his lack of sympathy with the Indian trader, Reynal, and the savage Dahcotah. That Parkman and his party of hunters do not eat the meat of the bulls only re-emphasizes their isolation from the de-beautifying, consumer economy which

Reynal and the ugly native Americans represents. To cement his claim to civilization and beauty, Parkman "others" the Dahootah in the terms of what he finds in himself as savage and ugly. Parkman's final encounter with a bull emphasizes this connection: "The old savage looked up when I first approached, and gave me a fierce stare[ ]" (my emphasis, 447). Parkman, of course, kills him. Is this cannibal sport or economic warfare?

Unlike Parkman, Herman Melville's Tommo, the narrator of Typee, flees cannibalism without negotiating any identificatory relationship to it. The narrator's adventure recounts two dramatic escapes, but each is incompletely successful. Tommo escapes the Typees after first escaping the oppressive Dolly, on which he had been afraid he would become like "[s]ome long-haired, bare-necked youths," the type

> who, forced by the united influences of Captain Marryat and hard times, embark at Nantucket for a pleasure excursion to the Pacific, and whose anxious mothers provide them with bottled milk for the occasion, oftentimes return very respectable middle-aged gentlemen. (21)

The swaggering, salty tone of this depiction of raw youths and anxious mothers belies the sentimental conclusion of Typee. In which Marheyo "placed his arm upon my shoulder, and emphatically pronounced the only two English words I had taught him--'Home' and 'Mother!' I at once understood what

he meant, and eagerly expressed my thanks to him" (248). Although Tommo is forced by "the united influences of Captain Marryat and hard times" to leave his home and mother, Marheyo's words mark Tommo's escapes from the cannibalizing Typees as an escape from hard times and Captain Marryat, and as a return to his mother and home. But if the close of Typee does not make it explicit enough, the sequel to Typee re-emphasizes that Tommo "escapes" only to another ship, and that he sails the South Seas for two more years (260). This is no surprise. Nothing in the text has dispelled the monetary doldrums which forced Tommo to sail away from his mother in the first place.

The ultimate failure of Tommo's strategy is evident from the beginning of Typee. In "the united influences of Captain Marryat and hard times" Tommo merely faces what were increasingly recognized as the typical social assumptions of Northeastern "manhood": establishing a domestic circle of his own--facing Captain Marry-at--and getting a job to support the family. Tommo is, therefore, forced from his mother to the sea neither by the Captain nor by hard times. He is evading the expectations of "manhood," which include leaving mother for a wife and a job.

Captain Vangs, the actual captain of Tommo's ship, is the incarnation of Tommo's Captain Marryat. Because Vangs

has, Tommo imagines, "registered a vow he will fill his vessel with good sperm oil, or failing to do so, never again strike Yankee soundings" (22), Vangs is reminiscent of Reynal, the Indian trader whose marriage into the Dahcotah required him to spend all his time gathering food to feed his voracious Dahcotah relatives. The Captain who keeps Tommo from his home and mother, threatening "never again [to] strike Yankee soundings," is caught up in a system which aims to accumulate oil/profit but which produces just enough capital to replenish supplies. Indeed, Tommo jumps ship to avoid a Captain who, he suggests, might trade "the fruits of their hard-earned toils for a new supply of provisions" and "begin the voyage afresh with unabated zeal and perseverance" although "the owners write urgent letters to him to sail for home, and for their sake to bring back the ship, since it appears he can put nothing in her" (22). Unlike Reynal, though, Vangs is represented as being both controlled by and in control of his predicament. He seems, in fact, simultaneously reminiscent of the Hog. Ferociously named, Captain Vanga, puts to port only when his own supply of food is running low: "the captain will never point the ship for the land so long as he has in anticipation a mess of fresh meat. This unhappy bird [Pedro, the rooster] can along furnish it; and when he is once devoured, the captain

will come to his senses" (4). Like the Hog, Captain Vang manages to keep his own stomach full, even well fed.

Indeed, Vangs may be caught up in an economic system in which he can make little profit, but whatever success he does have comes at the expense of his crew's provisions. Tommo explains, "As the vessel carries out no cargo, her hold is filled with provisions for her consumption" (21). As sperm oil fills the ship for the captain, it replaces the provisions for the men, so when the Captain's ship is full, the men's stomachs will be empty. Just what will be the state of Captain Vang's provisions at that point in the voyage is unclear, but Captain Vang's consumption of the poorly fed Pedro conjures images of the cannibalism popularly associated with sailors who are lost at sea. Although Tommo insists that Pedro alone can furnish "a mess of fresh meat" for the Captain, he aggressively personifies the rooster, whose scanty provision mirrors the crew's dilemma:

> There is but one solitary tenant in the chicken-coop, once a gay and dapper young cock, bearing himself so bravely among the coy hens. But look at him now; there he stands, moping all day long on that everlasting one leg of his. He turns with disgust from the mouldy corn before him, and the brackish water in his little trough. His attenuated body will be laid out upon the captain's table next Sunday, and long before night will be buried with all the usual ceremonies beneath that worthy individual's vest. . . . I wish thee no harm, Peter; but as thou art doomed,

> sooner or later, to meet the fate of all thy race, and if putting a period to thy existence is to be the signal for our deliverance, why--truth to speak--I wish they throat cut this very moment; for, oh! how I wish to see the living earth again! (4)

After Pedro is eaten, Tommo suggests, the Captain will "return to his senses" and point the ship toward land, and Captain Vengs does. Nonetheless, Tommo's enthusiasm for slicing "Peter"'s throat--not wringing his neck--for the "deliverance" of the crew, so that they may "see the living earth" once more, repeats the kind of rationalizations which seem liable to support cannibalism among shipwrecked sailors[3]. In any case, Vang's appetite for Pedro the rooster reflects his appetite for profitting from sperm oil at the expense of his increasingly hungry sailors' bodies--taken to its logical extreme, when the ship is full of oil and has no space for provisions, the Captain may eat the men. After all, neither they nor Pedro, a crowing cock, originally shipped to be eaten[4].

A similar reversal of expectations bolsters Typee's critique of what Melville mockingly calls "civilization." As Tommo indicates time and again, those who believe they are most civilized may be described as barbarous.

> The term 'Savage' is, I conceive, often misapplied, and indeed when I consider the vices, cruelties, and enormities of every kind that spring up in the tainted atmosphere of a feverish civilization, I am inclined to think that so far

> as tha ralative wickedness of tha parties is concernad, four or five Marquasan Islandars sent to the Unitad Statas as Missionarias might ba quite as useful as an aquai number of Amaricans daspatchad to the Ialands in a similar capacity: (i25-i26)

In fact, Tommo suggests that tha natives are mada into savagas through thair ancounter with civiiization:

> Thus it is that they whom we denominate "savagas" are mada to daaarve tha title When the inhabitants of some saquastared island first descry the "big canoa" of tha Europaan roiiing through the biue watars toward thair shores, they rush down to the beach in crowds, and with opan arms stand ready to embrace the strangers. Fatai embrace! Thay foid to thair bosoms the vipers whose sting is dastined to poison ail their joys. (26)

Tommo uses the Typees' encountar with Portar, who attacked the Typee merely "to gratify the mortai hatred of his aliias the Nukuhevas and the Happars" as an iiiustration of tha barbaric influence of "civiiized" man (26)[7]. A failure on Tommo's part to associate savagery and cannibalism with the ship's "civilized" company would be a surprising omission.

What is mora interesting to me is that Tommo criticizes "civilization" as barbarous when it imposes unfair labor reiations. For instanca, in his description of the European colonizers and Hawaiian isianders, Tommo equates oppressive iabor ralations to "civilization":

> The spontaneous fruits of tha aarth, which God in his wisdom had ordainad for tha support of tha indoiant natives, remorsaiasaiy saized upon and appropriatad by the stranger, ara devoured bafora

> the eyes of the starving inhabitants, or sent on board the numerous vessels which now touch at their shores . .
>
> Not until I visited Honolulu was I aware of the fact that the small remnant of the natives had been civilized into draught horses, and evangelized into beasts of burden. But so it is. They have been literally broken into the traces, and are harnessed to the vehicles of their spiritual instructors like so many dumb brutes! (136)

One person's assumption of ownership of the fruits of the earth forces others to submit to what Tommo calls civilizing--being "broken into the traces" as they labor for their food. Even when Europeans concede authority, the impact of civilization upon the natives is negative because unfair labor relations persist: "The resources of the domineering chiefs are wrung from the starving serfs"; the former are "fast destroying themselves by sensual indulgences, and the other are fast being destroyed by a complication of disorders, and the want of wholesome food" (note, 198). When domineering and greedy chiefs monopolize natural resources and wring labor from starving workers, native labor relations mirror those aboard the "civilized" ship which Tommo flees.

Labor relations among the Typee specifically parody the economic imperatives which power the industrial revolution. For instance, the pleasure and leisure of the Typee women's creation of tappa belies its importance not just as clothing

[illegible] mark of the Typees' independence from the warping [illegible] and woofing?) influence of civilized encroachment In England and the Northeast, the manufacture of cloth anchored the industrial revolution and propped the wage-labor system. Tommo notes that on other islands tappa is dyed to imitate European-manufactured calico, and that a woman who preferred even dyed tappa to calico was considered "a lady of the old school" (148) In Typee, "the art of printing is unknown," and calico is equally rare. Consequently, the women still beat the tappa leaves into cloth, what Tommo calls one of the "slight and agreeable" occupations in which the "young girls very seldom engaged" (204) Even this work, when engaged in, is pleasant in itself:

> I was often attracted to the noise of the mallet, which, when employed in the manufacture of cloth, produces at every stroke of its hard, heavy wood, a clear, ringing, and musical sound, capable of being heard at a great distance. When several of these implements happen to be in operation at the same time, and near one another, the effect upon the ear of a person, at a little distance, is really charming (148)

If many Northeasterners distrusted the Lowell, Massachusetts manufacturers' descriptions of the pleasant, moral environment of their factories, their boasts seem fulfilled, ironically, in the Typee Valley--one wonders if the Typee women are making textiles or music.

The manufacture of tappa cloth in the Typee Valley is a pleasant, even aesthetic, occupation for the women, but the occupations of the men on Typee are equally light, and equally aestheticizing. The primary distinction between Typee society and "civilized" society, Tommo finds, is that in the Typee Valley

> There were none of those thousand sources of irritation that the ingenuity of civilized man has created to mar his own felicity. There were no foreclosures of mortgages, no protested notes, no bills payable, no debts of honor in Typee, no unreasonable tailors and shoemakers, perversely bent on being paid, no duns of any description . . . no poor relations, everlastingly occupying the spare bed-chamber, and diminishing the elbow room at the family table; no destitute widows with their children starving on the cold charities of the world, no beggars; no debtors' prisons; no proud and hard-hearted nabobs in Typee, or to sum up all in one word--no Money! That "root of all evil" was not to be found in the valley (126)

The Typees, isolated from vipers and corrupting Europeans, have avoided the root of the "thousand sources of irritation" that frustrate civilized man because, although each islander has his/her own possessions, all have equal access to the fruitful produce of the land, "to have and to hold, so long as grass grows and water runs; or until their French visitors, by a summary mode of conveyancing, shall appropriate them to their own benefit and behoof" (202).

Among the Typee men, according to Tommo, community ownership of the land supports community labor--because all

of the Typee have access to the food and resources they desire, they are free to work together rather than to compete against one another. Labor in general is light, congenial, and an expression of community action:

> every thing was done in concert and good fellowship. I will give an instance of this fraternal feeling.
>
> [W]e passed by a little opening in the grove, on one side of which, my attendant informed me, was that afternoon to be built a dwelling of bamboo. At last a hundred of the natives were bringing materials to the ground, some carrying in their hands one or two of the canes which were to form the sides, others slender rods of the habiscus, strung with palmetto leaves, for the roof. Every one contributed something to the work, and by the united, but easy, and even indolent, labors of all, the entire work was completed before sunset . . . and they worked together so unitedly, and seemed actuated by such an instinct of friendliness, that it was truly beautiful to behold. (203-204)

Working together, the Typee men not only feed and house each other, they also participate in an economic system which in its "fraternal" operation is "truly beautiful to behold," and which reacts upon the laborers: "During the whole period of my stay I saw but one invalid among them; and on their smooth clear skins you observed no blemish or mark of disease" (127).

Tommo's descriptions of the Typee community lead even him to exclaim, "'Are these the blood-thirsty cannibals of whom I have heard such frightful tales!'" (203). Indeed,

The question of whether the Typee are cannibals could be described as the burning question of the text. Tommo must know if he is in danger among the Typee. Yet Tommo knows of no first-person accounts of their cannibalism, the Typee deny the accusation, and after some time with the Typee even Tommo concludes that they are strict vegetarians (181), not cannibals. To Tommo's mind, the fraternal working conditions of the Typee society support his conclusion. People who work together so beautifully, Tommo assumes, could not be guilty of cannibalism.

Tommo's question suggests that cannibalism is also antithetical to maintaining beautiful working bodies. Tommo proceeds to chronicle previous visitors' impressions of the Typee men's, and women's, beauty. Mendana "described the natives as wondrously beautiful to behold, and as nearly resembling the people of southern Europe" (183). The Typees' claim to the beauty of Italy and Greece, of the birthplace of western civilization, is surprising, but Tommo quotes Figueroa, Cook, Stewart, and Porter to further support Mendana's claim, and he adds his own testimony:

> The distinguishing characteristic of the Marquesan islanders, and that which at once strikes you, is the European cast of their features--a peculiarity seldom observable among other uncivilized people. Many of their faces present a profile classically beautiful, and in the valley of the Typee, I saw several who, like the stranger Marnoo, were in every respect models of beauty. (184)

Marnoo is a decidedly "Polynesian' Apollo, and his beauty is Grecian:

> His unclad limbs were beautifully formed, whilst the elegant outline of his figure, together with his beardless cheeks, might have entitled him to the distinction of standing for the statue of the Polynesian Apollo, and indeed the ovel of his countenence and the regularity of every feature reminded me of an antique bust . . (135)

What is beautiful about Marnoo--what is beautiful about the Typee in general--is their physical resemblance, imagined or otherwise, to the Greeks. The fraternal nature of the Typees' united labor, itself "beautiful to behold," is at least rhetorically linked to the reputed beauty of the origin of western civilization: the Greeks.

Tommo explicitly opposes the physical beauty of the Typee to that of thoroughly "civilized" white men and even the Nukuheven men who, Tommo explains, "have been somewhat corrupted, owing to their recent commerce with Europeans" (39). In both cases, the Typee men are described as incomparably perfect physical specimens:

> I was especially struck by the physical strength and beauty which they displayed, by their great superiority in those respectes over the inhebitants of the neighboring bay of Nukuheva . . .
> In beauty of form they surpassed anything I had ever seen. Not a single instence of naturel deformity was observable in all the throng attending the revels . . . But their physical excellence did not merely consist in an exemption from these evils; nearly every individuel might have been taken for a sculptor's model

> When I remembered that these islanders derived no advantage from dress, but appeared in all the naked simplicity of nature, I could not avoid comparing them with the fine gentlemen and dandies who promenade such unexceptional figures on our frequented thoroughfares. (181-82)

Unlike the Nukuhevans, the "hostile clans, residing in the more remote sections of the island, and very seldom holding any communication with foreigners, are in every respect unchanged from their earliest known condition" (11). If they are more primitive, they are also, ironically, less contaminated with "civilized" barbarism. The Typee remain uncontaminated, pure, and beautiful. How can they be, Tommo wonders, the cannibals they are reputed to be?

For the Nukuhevans, the mark of what Tommo calls "commerce with Europeans" is similar to the impact of civilization upon other natives, who "are fast being destroyed by a complication of disorders, and the want of wholesome food" (note, 188). As a consequence, among the Nukuhevans, manly beauty specifically has been reduced.

> In the [Nukuhevan valley], I had not been favorably impressed with the personal appearance of the male portion of the population; although with the females, excepting in some truly melancholy instances, I had been wonderfully pleased. I had observed that even the little intercourse Europeans had carried on with the Nukuheva natives had not failed to leave its traces amongst them. (181)

Tommo's substitution of European "intercourse" for "commerce" suggests that the Nukuhevan men have not yet been reduced to starvation by unequal commercial competition,

they have probably contracted sexually transmitted diseases Western forms of commerce are, for the native men, perhaps seductive but physically debilitating.

The original template for this physical deterioration, of course, is the westerners themselves.

> Stripped of the cunning artifices of the tailor, and standing forth in the garb of Eden,--what a sorry set of round-shouldered, spindle-shanked, crane-necked, varlets would civilized men appear! Stuffed calves, padded breasts, and scientifically cut pantaloons would then avail them nothing, and the effect would be truly deplorable. (181)

All of these men are disfigured through their contact with commerce with Europeans--their bodies and beauty broken by too much labor, too little labor, or the wrong kind of labor. Within this context, Tommo's question, "'Are <u>these</u> the blood-thirsty cannibals of whom I have heard such frightful tales!'" (my emphasis 203), carries a new resonance. If the manly beauty marks the Typee as not being cannibals, the deteriorating manly beauty of the Nukuhevans and the physically deplorable condition of western men's bodies implies that they <u>are</u> the blood-thirsty cannibals he has read about. They, the sailors of the Dolly, Tommo, and Pedro are all, metaphorically, in the soup together.

That Tommo should appear as infected, and as an invalid amongst the Typees, as Parkman does among the Dahcotah, is predictable. He appears among the Typee starved and lame,

afflicted by a mysterious malady which swells one leg Critics have described Tommo's injury as psychosomatic He admits that he "half-suspected I had been bitten by some venomous reptile" in the sentence immediately prior to observing that the Marquesas "enjoy the reputation. . . of being free from the presence of any vipers; though whether Saint Patrick ever visited them, is a question I shall not attempt to decide" (49). The question is complicated by Saint Patrick's European origins, Tommo has styled as a "fatal embrace" the naive natives' initial welcoming of European visitors: "the viper whose sting is destined to poison all their joys" (26). On the Marquesas, the European Saint Patrick would be the first viper on the island, unless the Saint is a kind of European that Tommo is unfamiliar with. In any case, the viper sting which disables Tommo marks his own close encounter with the first world, the "feverish sensation" which thereafter disturbs him marks his absorption in "the tainted atmosphere of a feverish civilization" (125).

Like Parkman, however, Tommo is physically reinvigorated at the point at which the disease seems unbearable, and like Parkman, who borrows clothing from Reynal, Tommo's cure is associated with a change of clothing. Tommo's "limb suddenly heal[s], the swelling

goes; down, the pain subside[s]" (123) only two pages after he is "obliged to assume the Typee costume" (121) Stripped of "the cunning artifices of the tailor," Tommo finds that "the effect [is not] truly deplorable"; instead, his change of clothes re-invigorates his health. Tommo describes his change of clothing as temporary, as merely a means of maintaining his original clothing in a condition fit to return to civilization, but the wardrobe change is simultaneous with Tommo's recognition that Toby will not be returning for him and that the Typees will not let him go:

> I gave myself up to the passing hour, and if ever disagreeable thoughts arose in my mind, I drove them away. When I looked around the verdant recess in which I was buried, and gazed up to the summits of the lofty eminence that hemmed me in, I was well disposed to think that I was in the "Happy Valley," and that beyond those heights there was nought but a world of care and anxiety. (124)

Tommo is "hemmed in" by the valley, but he is literally hemmed in by his accession to a hand-made textile produced at laisure by healthy and beautiful Typee women And as Tommo has critiqued western labor relations as deformative, he associates donning Typee clothing with physical rejuvenation. The Typees' labor-friendly and beautifying economy seems an alternative to cannibalistic Captain Vangs and his ilk

Tommo cannot claim one economic alternative, however, without invoking the other. His "escape" from cannibalism to beauty finally registers as incomplete, as is evident from Tommo's fixation upon what he describes as the Typees' most beautiful physical characteristic, their teeth: "Nothing in the appearance of the islanders struck me more forcibly than the whiteness of their teeth. The novelist always compares the masticators of his heroine to ivory, but I boldly pronounce the teeth of the Typees to be far more beautiful than ivory itself" (181). That Tommo should be fascinated by the teeth of the people who he suspects might be fattening him for future consumption is no surprise--the Typee's teeth obviously mark their ability to devour him. But that he should focus on the teeth in order to extol their beauty seems incongruous. More incongruous is the conclusion to which this observation immediately leads: "This marvellous whiteness of the teeth is to be ascribed to the pure vegetable diet of these people, and the uninterrupted healthfulness of their natural mode of life" (181). In short, the beauty of the Typees' teeth is to be ascribed to the fact that they are decidedly not cannibals--that, unlike Captain Vangs and the rest of western society, the Typee do not eat meat. At the same time, the Typees'

beautiful teeth indicate that they may be cannibals, just like Captain Vanga and the rest of western society.

The same kind of internal contradiction is indicated in Tommo's description of the Typees' eating habits. Despite suggesting that the Typee maintain their beautiful teeth by being strict vegetarians, Tommo had earlier commended that "butchers, cooks, and housewives" imitate the "summary style in which the Typees convert perverse-minded and rebellious hogs into the most docile and amiable pork, a morsel of which placed on the tongue melts like a soft smile from the lips of Beauty" (159). Obviously, the Typees do eat meat--theirs is not a "pure vegetable diet." Yet just as he aestheticizes the Typees' potentially cannibalistic teeth, Tommo displaces the Typees' consumption of meat into a look of Beauty. Even this consumption of pork is beautified, probably because Tommo associates the consumption of any meat with cannibalism. "'Puarkee' Puarkee'" (Pig, pig)" shouts Kory-Kory to Tommo, when Tommo sneaks a peep into a basket containing what he believes are cannibalized human remains. This linguistic substitution Tommo already understands.

Like Parkman, Tommo wonders whether in joining the Typee he has become like the beautiful and inviolate Panther or like economically cannibalized Reynal. Both figures are

superimposed upon the pork, which tastes like beauty. Tommo's inability to reconcile or fully distinguish beauty and cannibalism undermines his escape from Vangs.

It is from disfigurement figured as cannibalism, once again, which Tommo flees when he escapes the Typee, but Tommo does not flee from cannibalism. He flees from what he describes as a threat to his beauty, tattooing. By the middle of the text he seems to have reasoned away fears for his safety among the Typees, but when they suggest tattooing to him he reacts with exaggerated horror. Like cannibalism, the text suggests, tattooing is a practice which distinguishes the natives from their Grecian counterparts, and, as he had the danger of the Typees' teeth, Tommo had vigorously elided it in his construction of the Typee as beautiful southern europeans. Certainly, Tommo draws attention to some tattoos as being downright ugly. He quails at Fayaway's tattooing, but he celebrates its comparative infrequency upon her body. He marvels at Marnoo's "artu" tree, but he describes it as "the best specimen of the Fine Arts I had yet seen in Typee," turning it to indicate a Grecian flair for the Fine Arts. And he mocks Kory-Kory's "three broad longitudinal stripes of tattooing" which "reminded me of those unhappy wretches whom

I have sometimes observed gazing out sentimentally from behind the grated bars of a prison window" (83).

But the tattoos on the skin of the natives are broadly elided by Tommo's descriptions of the whiteness and the beauty of their skin. Tommo notes that the Typees' skin is "free from those blemishes which sometimes mar the effect of an otherwise perfect form," and "on their smooth clear skins you observed no blemish or mark of disease" (127). This characteristic he ascribes to the Typees' care of their skin--to their oiling of themselves, "united to their frequent bathing, and extreme cleanliness, is ascribable, in a great measure, the marvellous purity and smoothness of skin exhibited by the natives in general" (183). Among the women, especially, this care leads to a lightening of complexion, a movement toward "a light olive" (183) which perfectly mimics the "light olive color of the skin" of Marnoo, the Polynesian Apollo. The emphasis on the beautiful purity, clarity, blemishlessness, marklessness and lightness of the Typees' skins, simultaneously "southern europeanizes" the Typees and, in extolling the beauty of the Typees, not-so-subtly elides the presence of their tattoos.

As the danger of cannibalism is buried beneath descriptions of the Typees' beautiful teeth, the danger of tattooing is buried beneath the Typees' beautiful skins

Tommo's question, "Are these the blood-thirsty cannibals of whom I have heard such tales?" could again be re-phrased, "Are these the tattooed natives of whom I have heard such tales?" In his representation of Typee economy as beautiful and fraternal, Tommo vigorously forgets two characteristics that are equally at odds with the representation: cannibalism and tattooing. When Tommo affirms that the Typee are tattooed, he also affirms that they are not beautiful, that they are cannibals, that their seemingly fraternal economic system supports deformity and appetite.

That to Tommo the tattoos are decidedly not beautiful is evident by his reaction to them. In the face of tattooed people whom he has described as more beautiful than any he had ever seen, Tommo mocks Karky, the artist who tattoos the Typee:

> he flourished them [his tools] about in fearful vicinity to my face . . . and every moment bursting into some admiring exclamation at the beauty of his designs.
>
> Horrified at the bare thought of being rendered hideous for life if the wretch were to execute his purpose upon me, I struggled to get away from him . . . . (218)

One page later, Tommo mocks "King" Mehevi: "It evidently surpassed his majesty's comprehension how any sober-minded and sensible individual could entertain the least possible objection to so beautifying an operation" (219). Whether the Typees sought to tattoo Tommo in order to beautify him--

Tommo later claims that by tattooing him they sought to induct him into their religion--or not', Tommo once again buries the meaning of words like "mutilating," "blemishing," or "deforming" beneath "beauty" and "beautifying." And he claims suddenly to be able to see those words beneath, or superimposed on, the protestations of beauty which he had ascribed to the natives.

One page later, Tommo has decided to escape, not from tattooing but from cannibalism. As the house of cards falls apart, Tommo imagines that the Typees really are cannibals. "It is a singular fact, that in all our accounts of cannibal tribes we have seldom received the testimony of an eye-witness to the revolting practice" (234), but Tommo becomes just such an eye-witness: "my eyes fell upon the disordered members of a human skeleton, the bones still fresh with moisture, and with particles of flesh clinging to them here and there!" (238). Escape from the Typees becomes as important as escape from the Dolly had been.

One chapter later, Tommo is once again lame: "the painful malady under which I had been laboring--after having almost completely subsided--began again to show itself, and with symptoms as violent as ever. This added calamity nearly unmanned me . . ." (232). This is, in fact, the second time which Tommo has been "unmanned." The first

occurs immediately prior to contracting his lameness "the appalling darkness and the dismal sense of our forlorn condition, almost unmanned me" (46). The viper bite of civilization has returned to increase his "labor" and to "unman" him once more, but this time he fears it might actually kill him "cure was futile" (213). Oddly, Tommo has finally discovered among the Typee the troubles he had brought with him from the Dolly. He escapes them as he had done before, fleeing the Typee and leaping aboard another ship.

With the depiction of the Typees as savages and cannibals, and his escape from them, Tommo's health returns as he returns to the "civilized" life he had once escaped. This is almost precisely the position he'd been in when he jumped ship, but for Marheyo's invocation of "home" and "mother," yet Tommo is not going home, and he has not escaped the hard times which forced him from his mother. The awkwardness of Tommo's postponing his return home after his escape is matched by the incongruity of his use of home and mother to escape in the first place. Even among the Typee, Melville lingers only briefly over few maternal figures. Surprisingly, given that Typee is a story of captivity, Tommo makes only one reference to his family and home: "[Fayaway] appeared to be conscious [that] there were ties

rudely severed, which once had bound us to our homes; that there were sisters and brothers anxiously looking forward to our return, who were, perhaps, never more to behold us" (108). Notably, this single reference to "home" makes no mention of "mother."

References to motherhood are equally absent from the rest of Typee. In one short excerpt, Tommo describes a newborn's efforts to swim in the company of his mother. He also describes Tinor, Kory-Kory's mother, in her capacity as household manager and mother: "The mother of the latter was the mistress of the family, and a notable housewife. . . . [S]he had the kindliest heart in the world, and acted towards me in particular in a truly maternal manner." (85). Yet unlike the rest of that household, Tinor plays a small part in the text, after this description, and Kory-Kory assumes the "maternal" duties of feeding and cleaning Tommo. Tinor is notably absent in the dramatic scene of separation when Marheyo, Kory-Kory, and Fayaway allow Tommo to escape. Tommo's original, dismissive and swaggering attitude toward "anxious mothers" seems to pervade nearly the entire text.

In fact, Tommo explains his escape by citing his worth in a capitalist economy--"The captain of an Australian vessel, being in distress for men in these remote seas, had

put into Nukuhava in order to recruit his ship's company, [and learning] that an American sailor was detained by the savages. . . supplied [Karakoee] with suitable articles of traffic, to undertake his [Tommo's] release" (252). It is Tommo himself who insists that the price be paid: "I was determined, as the only mark of gratitude I could show, to give [Kory-Kory, Fayaway, and Mehevi] the articles which had been brought as my ransom" (250)--a musket, gunpowder, and a large roll of cotton cloth.

Tommo's insistance on ratifying the trade undermines the suggestion that he is finally moving away from the impact of "hard times"--he insists upon the terms of the trade which marks his value in an economy hit by hard times. It also de-legitimizes his earlier suggestions that the Typee represent a society uninfected by civilized corruption. If heretofore they have resisted such trade, Tommo forces it upon them, providing two items of "civilized" deformation: muskets/powder for warfare, and cotton cloth to undermine the demand for the native production of tappa. It could be that Tommo vengefully aims to "hem" the Typee in--to wrap them in a cloth of his own cutting. Or perhaps this trade merely marks Tommo's worth to the Typee, who if they ever really had been free from Europeanized corruption dramatically lost that innocence

when Tommo entered the valley. The gun, powder, and cotton are, as Tommo seems to insist, an appropriate mark of his "worth" to the Typee, whose earlier depiction as horrific cannibals marks the economic corruption which this closing trade implies.

Melville's flirtation with an economic organization that foregrounds interdependence and advances the terms of progressive civilization ultimately re-inscribes racial and gender distinctions. His final escape shifts the threat of cannibalism and deformity away from its original source--the economic pressures of Captain Vanga, "hard times and Captain Marryat"--to the Typee. And Melville's depiction of "home" and "mother" re-emphasizes the domestic as a feminine and non-economic space, a refuge. Examining "Bartleby, the Scrivener," Gillian Brown suggests that the antebellum market re-created domestic spaces--home as a refuge of stasis defined against an economy that increasingly relied upon commercial mobility. Brown examines Bartleby's insistent immobility as a radical illustration of the interdependence of the "domestic space" and "the marketplace." Wai-chee Dimock describes Tommo's escape as "a critique of community"--an affirmation not "of 'home' and 'civilization' but the freedom of the sea" (37). Dimock's critique emphasizes the rhetorical links between

'home" and "the freedom of the sea," between staals and commercial mobility--Melville sails away not on a whaler but upon a merchantman.

Walter Herbert suggests that Typee embodies the 'inherent tensions of a civilized self" within a "work of art" (178), that, in short, Melville flees from the cannibals to a kind of aesthetic labor Yet neither Parkman nor Melville depicts a permanent, aesthetic, civilizing economy- Both point to mutually advantageous, civilized commercial exchange which beautifies and strengthens manly bodies--Parkman with Paul and the Panther and Tommo with the communal construction of homes--but those depictions become linked to or overlay economic discourses of savage consumerism and accumulation which mutilate and deform If both agree that industry is required to avoid unproductive dandyism, both recognize that productive labor's connection to civilization and aestheticism is undercut by its association with consumption, competition, and accumulation, and both react to that association. The fragility and tragedy of Melville's financial prospects may have influenced Tommo's fantasy of a domestic and maternal space, a non-economic refuge which marks his return to beautiful boyhood, to escape the threat of deformation even as he participates in it Parkman's fortune may have provided the

sense of economic invulnerability which props his narrator's

sense of hardened, invulnerable manhood--a sculpted

masculinity which towers above the cannibalistic exchangee,

whether "civilized" or "savage."

Notes

1. Work like Schueller's and Breitwieser's seems the more useful to me. In light of the tendency of even sensitive critics of Parkman to extend his biases. For instance, Russell B. Nye's "Parkman, Red Fate, and White Civilization" smartly delineates the contemporary beliefs that supported Parkman's ideas that native American culture must disintegrate when it meets Anglo-saxon culture, but Nye never distinguishes himself from Parkman's descriptions of the native Americans as "primitives" and "savage." Whatever Nye thinks of antebellum native Americans, his article repeats Parkman's ideas: "[T]he blunt and even repulsive fact of the Indian's savagery attracted Parkman's scholarly interests" (156).

2. This is not to deny that Melville's portrayals of beautiful Typee men are erotic/izeable. Robert Martin's "'Enviable Isles': Melville's South Seas" aptly demonstrates the Typee's subtle references to sodomy. I believe, however, that erotic/ization of beautiful men was not particular to Melville, or to a "homosexual" population. It was inherent to the terms of antebellum political economy, which mark masculine beauty as indicative of economic and physiologic/sexual productivity. Melville's sexy men are (re-)productive men because they resist the non-reproductive pleasures that they suggest.

3. Later, of course, Parkman learns to hunt the buffalo.

4. Charles J. Haberstroh, Jr. suggests that Melville used Typee to create an assertive masculine persona that would illustrate his ability "to carry on . . . the Melville-Gansevoort expectations of male behavior" (33), that Melville finally "resurrects both his protagonist and himself from possible collapse." Certain instincts, however dormant, never cease to function, and can sometimes hold one on course" (51). Likewise, Neal L. Tolchin examines Tommo's actions as forming "a pattern of covert rage against

a cultural code of masculinity" (47) that leads Tommo "[to become Maria Melville [his mother]" (57) and to "birth himself from his mother's grief" (58). Haberstroh essentializes "male behavior," and Tolchin somewhat ahistorically explores Melville's masculinity within a psychoanalytic model developed in the twentieth century, these arguments share my interest in the terms of Melville's construction of a masculine identity.

5. For more on the idea that cannibalism and shipwreck were commonly associated terms see A. W. Brian Simpson's Cannibalism and the Common Law.

6. Neal Tolchin observes, "Paradoxically, by killing Pedro, Tommo turns into him: after the ship lands, Tommo becomes the Typees's mournful fresh meat, who, like Pedro, will be found 'moping all the day long on that everlasting one leg of his'" (47). Captain Vang's ingestion of Pedro recalls Parkman's the Hog's, whose "appetite for horses" threatens to cannibalize another "cock of the walk," the economically exposed Horse, whose name links him to the Dahcotahs' primary monetary unity, a horse.

7. In "Ambiguous Utopia: Savagery and Civilization in Typee and Omoo, Toni H. Olivero emphasizes that in Typee Melville plays upon the interchangeability of "civilized" and "savage."

8. Critics have examined the import of tattoing in Typee in terms of its meaning for the Typee, and for Melville. Charles Anderson suggests that the Typee associated tatoos with good luck, that Melville's lack of tatoos could have threatened the tribe with bad luck. John Evelev's analysis of inscription in Typee implies that Melville's escape from tatooing (one form of inscription) leads him, ironically, to a similar inscription within a literary marketplace: "Typee is written for the marketplace, but it is also written about the marketplace. Typee marks lines of inquiry and critical energy which are representational not only of Melville's life among the 'cannibals,' but of his questioning of the Anglo-American literary market of the 1840s and that larger market, capitalism itself" (41). Michael Breitwieser and Elizebeth Renker suggest that Tommo resists tatooing as Melville resists assuming a marketplace identity as a "consummable" writer. Breitwieser explores the fear that "the writer may be written upon" and Renker suggests that the tatoos represent Melville's inability to make his writing depict "a world of true experience" (23).

CHAPTER 5

HENRY DAVID THOREAU'S THE MAINE WOODS
MANLY BODIES, WHITE PINES, COMMERCE

Are we not reminded in our better moments we have been needlessly husbanding somewhat--perchance--our little God-derived capital--or title to capital guarding it by methods we know? but the most diffuse prodigality a better wisdom teaches--that we hold nothing--we are not what we were--By usurers craft--by Jewish methods--we strive to retain and increase the divinity in us--when the greater part of divinity is out of us (Thoreau, August 23, 1845, J 2 178)

An Indian who was making canoes behind a house, looking up pleasantly from his work,--for he knew my companion,--said that his name was Old John Pennyweight. I had heard of him long before, and I inquired after one of his contemporaries, Joe Fourpence-ha'penny; but, alas! he no longer circulates (Thoreau, "Chesuncook," 119)

We should strengthen, and beautify, and industriously mould our bodies to be fit companions of the soul.--Assist them to grow up like trees, and be agreeable and wholesome objects in nature. (Thoreau, Journal 1:232)

The opening pages of the journal draft of "Ktaadn," the first of Henry David Thoreau's Maine Wood narratives, pose a riddle. "to be Vast" they assert, "is how near to being waste" (After September 10, 1846, J 277). The statement suggests that to be vast is very near to being waste, and the wordplay indicates Thoreau's faith in language's ability to indicate the similarity. "Vast" (from the Latin vastus) is not "waste" (Latin root vastare) merely because it lacks

an "e," and because over the years its "v" has shifted to a 'w." Yet the primary definition of the noun "vast" remains 'a boundless waste or space, immensity." The question of "how near?" then, remains.

It returns in an analogous wordplay at "Ktaadn"'s climax: atop Mt Ktaadn "[s]ome part of the beholder, even some vital part seems to escape through the loose grating of his ribs as he ascends-- He is more lone than one--there is less of substance less of fair calculation & intellectual fullness than in the plains where men inhabit. Vast Titanic inhuman nature has got him at disadvantage caught him alone--& pilfers him" (Fall 1846, 2 339). Here, Thoreau plays on "one" and "lone" as he had played upon "waste" and "vast." "Lone" describes isolation from others, inscribes distinctions between one and "1" (both a letter and a number), between the "lone-ly" self and the other for whom one may be lonely, perhaps between the lone self and the "part of the beholder" which either has been pilfered or has escaped. Contrasted to "lone," "one" marks the absence of, or an obliviousness to, such distinctions--there is only "one," undivided. Opposed to the disjunction indicated by "lone," "one" is synonomous to "vast": "of great extent, very spacious or large, boundless; far-reaching." One is not, for Thoreau, a lonely number.

This wordplay supports Michael Warner's assertion that Thoreau deploys what Warner calls an "erotic economy" which re-invigorates "waste" as an infinitely renewable resource:

> Nature is a silent economy because it integrates itself through the counteracting functioning of its parts, like supply and demand. Even its disruptions, such as winter, serve a function and cannot violate Nature's integrity. Nature has no waste, no surplus that it cannot reinvest. When Thoreau says he loves the silent economy of Nature, he indicates that he wants to contemplate himself entirely, without encountering parts of himself that he cannot enjoy--in other words, without waste. The silent economy of nature, like his ascetic attitude in general, stands both for his desire to integrate himself as an object of contemplation and for the apparently contradictory desire to take pleasure in his waste, filth, and impurity. The dialectic of self-integration and self-dissolution can be summed up in two economic imperatives: have no waste; enjoy your waste. (Erotic 163)

Warner's argument links Thoreau's concern for waste with concern for self-representation. Waste, re-imagined as an infinitely re-investable, becomes vast--a boundless resource. Analogously, the "waste, filth, and impurity" of the self, recognized as integral to self, affirms a sense of self as "one." Warner's analysis re-emphasizes that atop Mt Ktaadn, Thoreau feels lone and waste, desolate and dissolute, pilfered of a "vital part," and reduced to a poorly constructed body.

Warner's suggestion that Thoreau's "erotic economy' is a "critique of capitalism" implies that "nature's economy"

is not based on both 'supply and demand" and the continual re-investment of "surplus" (Erotic 165), despite Warner's appropriation of capitalist language. In fact, Thoreau's critique cites classical political economy to attack a regionally specific form of capitalism that limited the re-investment of surplus capital by imposing prohibitive tariffs to restrict trade. Thoreau's "critique of capitalism" advocates a form of capitalism which embraces the law of supply and demand as "natural," which requires free trade policies to maintain the natural relationship between supply and demand, and which characterizes increased and varied commercial re-investment (demand) as the most efficient stimulus to production (supply).

Richard Grusin has already argued that Thoreau embraces laissez faire economic principles as "natural"--yet Grusin links Thoreau's "natural" economy to "a primitive gift economy in which nature's crops are treated as gifts to be passed on or reciprocated" (44), a framework that marginalizes Thoreau's political economy. Likewise, Leonard Neufeldt's "Thoreau's Political Economy" identifies Thoreau's "political economy" as a re-invigorated form of a republican rhetoric of "enterprise," "industry," and "virtu." Neufeldt's approach denies Thoreau's political economy much emphasis upon mercantile economy. Neufeldt's

'republican' Thoreau also seems stiffly antagonistic to the dynamic, developing antebellum marketplace of the age. I believe that Thoreau was not at odds with but embraced the free market according to traditional laissez faire economic principles. His work reflects the rhetoric of political economy as it was in the 1840s; it re-invigorates republican rhetoric only as Adam Smith's work, for instance, appropriated republicanism to forward civil relations in terms of economic interaction[1]

In embracing free trade tenets, Thoreau also agitated for related terms: civilization and manly beauty. Like Walter Harding--and many other critics of Thoreau--Warner is surprised by how boldly Thoreau expresses appreciation for handsome male bodies: "Some of his earliest journal entries speak of 'young buds of manhood in the streets,' 'this succulent [sic] and rank-growing slip of manhood,' 'some rare specimen of manhoood,' or 'a handsome younger man--a sailor like Greek like man.' These phrases to a scandalous degree turn males into objects" (bracketed information is Warner's, Bottom 64). As I have argued in Chapter One, manly beauty was broadly recognized as an effect of "commercial" capitalism. Within that context, it is far from scandalous for Thoreau to imagine that a handsome man is a sailor--a paragon of commercial exchange--or a Greek-- an appropriate

representative of the home of western civilization Likewise, Thoreau's descriptions of men as "young buds," a "slip [a cutting, scion] of manhood," and a "rare specimen of manhood" recall Thoreau's interest in botany and Warner's initial linkage nature's economy, in Thoreau, is a commercial economy, a commercial economy is a natural economy, and "natural/commercial" men are beautiful[2]

The variety of recent articles that explore Thoreau's critiques and ontologies of labor, his sense of writing as masculinizing physical work, develop a similar theme For instance, David M Robinson usefully summarizes Thoreau's attitudes toward labor:

> Thoreau is intent to show . . . that any form of social change must entail a conception of the necessity and dignity of work, and even of its beauty and intrinsic satisfaction. . . . Despite its mordant mockery of most forms of human toil, Walden is nevertheless a book that attempts to redeem the concept of work, using the open and thoughtful response to bodily necessity, the foundation of our economic identities, as a means of spiritual redemption (339-40)

Robinson's summary reflects some twentieth-century biases--he links social change, spiritual redemption, and finally harmony to labor more easily, apparently, than "even beauty," although he does finally insist upon the association This is another version of Warner's feeling of scandal But Robinson's is more useful than Michael Newbury's, which rests after having shown that Thoreau

metaphorized writing as physical labor in order to support its association with physical health, merely, or Joe Boyd Fuller's, which becomes mired in describing Thoreau's "'feminized' masculine poetics" of "pioneer work." Unable quite to believe that Thoreau could labor to produce a beautiful masculine body, we reproduce contradictions and clichés. Only Robinson, here, edges towards the truth.

William Gleason reminds us that Thoreau restated dissociating work from play, that Thoreau writes, "It is not necessary that a man should earn his living by the sweat of his brow, unless he sweats easier than I do." Nonetheless, Nicholas Brommel's By the Sweat of the Brow suggests that Thoreau recognizes "the very act of writing" as "necessarily a constructive act" and that the "challenge he faces is to write a book that disappears rather than endures, a book that is consumed in the process of being read, just as 'the knife which slices the bread of Jove ceases to be a knife when this service is rendered'" (214). Such writing is, Brommel suggests, the result of naturalized labor. Brommel returns us, then, to a Warner-like oxymoron--nature's labor--but also to Grusin's sense of nature's extravagance. Walden is not so much consumed in the reading of it, the knife is not so much destroyed in its cutting, Brommel's thinking suggests, as each is transmuted by a new demand-

They remain, immutably, renewable resources--their values are determined by exchange. Thoreau labors to produce such exchangeable goods

It is supply and demand that draws people across boundaries, into the woods or out of them, as Thoreau notes early in the first substantial text he completed at Walden, "Ktaadn" (1846). Immediately prior to entering the Maine woods, Thoreau notes,

> I think I may safely say that there was a row of ten or a dozen plates of this kind set before us two here To account for which , they say, that when the lumberers come out of the woods, they have a craving for cakes and pies, and such sweet things, which there are almost unknown, and this is the supply to satisfy that demand--the supply is always equal to the demand,--and these hungry men think a good deal of getting their money's worth No doubt, the balance of victuals is restored by the time they reach Bangor. Mattawamkeag takes off the raw edge. Well, over this front rank, I say, you coming from the "sweet cake" side, with a cheap philosophic indifference though it may be, have to assault what there is behind, which I do not by any means mean to insinuate is insufficient in quantity or quality to supply that other demand of men not from the woods, but from the towns, for venison and strong country fare. (11-12)

Thoreau is from the "sweet cake" side, drawn to the woods by what consumables it offers, yet in "Chesuncook," Thoreau's first sight of the woods is "like the sight and odor of cake to a schoolboy" (86). He is impelled to work his way into the woods by the same desire the lumbermen have to work their way out, to work for what they do not have, to consume

sweetcakes in the settlements. It's an equal trade--so equal that to Thoreau the forest has ceased to be forest, it seems like sweetcake. To the lumberers, I suppose, the sweetcakes eventually taste like wood.

"Ktaadn" explores the dynamic economy of consumption within the context of a public clash with the local economy. His campfire's consumption of three hundred acres of valuable Concord woodlots in 1844. For the destruction of his neighbors' properties, Thoreau was ostracized. David Leverenz speculates that Thoreau's embarrassment over burning of the woodlots is linked to his fear of marketplace humiliation:

> What Thoreau fears is more than being made to feel like a thing or a machine, it's being made to feel ugly, despised, physically loathsome, and emotionally helpless.
>
> Perhaps he also invited humiliation sometimes. "I once set fire to the woods," he noted in his 1850 journal. In 1844 . . . this expert woodsman let his fire get out of control while cooking fish with a friend. . . . It may well have been the townspeople's vehement rage that drove [Thoreau] to Walden in the first place. More broadly, humiliation, not reification, is the real terror of the entrepreneurial marketplace (24).

What Thoreau fears, here, as Leverenz suggests, is not only humiliation but emasculation , to have shown himself unfit to fill the economic sphere culturally designated as "masculine." We should remember, however, that for Thoreau the embarrassment/emasculation of this event is a

marketplace humiliation only in the broadest sense. In fact, Thoreau loses no property. His neighbors lose their investment of time and money in their woodlots, and one imagines that their losses might make them feel helpless, ugly, and/or diminished. But it is only their representation of the property loss that invests Thoreau as "ugly, despised, physically loathsome, and emotionally helpless." As Leverenz indicates, Thoreau "has been made to feel like shit," but only through association with those who feel shitty about the fire's consumption of their property[1].

In "Chesunkook" and "Ktaadn," I will argue, Thoreau re-masculinizes himself by distinguishing himself from such men. He identifies their shittiness, ugliness and helplessness as intrinsic to the subjects of an economy based on probitive tariffs. Instead, Thoreau advocates the principles of free trade. He presents the narrative as a lesson to fellow Concordians, and he presents fire to them, slyly enough, as a primary agent of a commercial economy, a means of advancing "civilization," and of encouraging a beautiful, efficient masculinity.

Taking "a second look at Walden" (321), Robert Fanuzzi argues that Thoreau "went to the country to find the city," that is, to re-invigorate a vision of "the liberal Whig

traders of the eighteenth century [who] made the Atlantic commercial city into the center of political resistance against monopolies, mercantilism, and colonialism" (324) The conclusion of "Thoreau's Urban Imagination," however, that Thoreau recreated the Atlantic commercial city as an anachronistic, imaginative construct belies the contemporary vigor of the language of commercialism in the discussion of tariff policy [4]

If, as Panuzzi indicates, the language of commercialism subtly suffuses Walden, it is readily evident in Thoreau's Maine Woods texts. Thoreau's enthusiasm for commerce explains what has troubled critics whose readings of "Ktaadn" emphasize Thoreau's enthusiasm merely for primitive nature[5] Thoreau's tendency to seek out signs of man wherever he goes in Maine. In "Ktaadn," Thoreau's first experience of "the impression which a new country and a lake of the woods' are fitted to create" (36) impresses Thoreau mainly by the absence of human inhabitants:

> There was the smoke of no log-hut nor camp of any kind to greet us, still less was any lover of nature or musing traveller watching our batteau from the distant hills, not even the Indian hunter was there, for he rarely climbs them, but hugs the river like ourselves[6] No face welcomed us but the fine fantastic sprays of free and happy evergreen trees, waving one above another in their ancient home At first the clouds hung over the western shore as gorgeously as if over a city, and the lake lay open to the light with even a civilized aspect, as if expecting trade and commerce, and

towns and villas. We could distinguish the outlet to the South Twin . (36)

Suggesting that the sun sets over the lake as "gorgeously as if over a city" is an odd style for a reputed lover of nature to describe his first experience of a new country. Yet the city Thoreau imagines here is one built upon "trade and commerce." Not coincidentally, it has a "civilized aspect," conferred, perhaps, by the faces of the only inhabitants: "No face welcomed us but the fine fantastic sprays of free and happy evergreen trees."

Thoreau's Journal draft of "Ktaadn" provides another version of the party's entrance onto North Twin Lake.

> Our appearance excited no bustle amid the surrounding hills as I read that when a ships [sic] boat approaches the bay o Typee one of the Marquesan isles the news is shouted from man to man and soon its whole population is on the stir--stripping off the husks from cocoa nuts--throwing down bread fruit--and preparing leafen baskets in which to carry them to the beach to sell. .
>
> I cannot help being affected by the very fine--the slight but positive relation of the inhabitants of some remote isle of the Pacific to the mysterious white mariner. It is a barely recognised fact to the nativee--that he exists and has his home far away somewhere and is glad to by [sic] their fresh fruits with his superfluous commodities .
>
> No sooner is the mariner's boat seen to put off from his veesel for the shore than the inhabitants of the remotest isles which stand like watch towers in the Pacific make haste to repair to the beach--with its fruits.
>
> Such is commerce which shakes the cocoa nut and the breadfruit tree in the remotest isle--and sometimes dawns upon the duskiest and most

ignorant savage; (Fall 1846, 2 316)

The mere ship's boat, like Thoreau's fur-trader's boat, pulling into a heretofore unvisited bay is a symbol for "commerce," so compelling a concept that the native who "shakes the cocoa nut and the breadfruit tree" becomes a metaphor for commerce, which creates and maintains the "slight but positive relation" of diverse peoples. If Thoreau finds no one but the pines and "some utterly uncivilized, big-throated owl [who] hooted loud and dismally in the drear and boughy wilderness" [38] at the lake with whom he may trade, he is encouraged to prepare and perhaps to maintain the ground for the invigoration of future commercial interaction. After crossing the lake, "we glided past the little island which had been our landmark, and fancied how contentedly we might live there to tend the light house which should guide the future voyageur" (Fall 1846, 2 313).

White Pines

The white pine--the primary product of the Maine woods--is the product that will lure future voyageurs to the woods, but it is also, in "Ktaadn" and in The Maine Woods in general, a metaphor for the "natural" masculinity that Thoreau opposes to his neighbors' helplessness. The white pine represents a kind of "mongrel" identity derived from

commercial interaction between what were thought of as oppositional categories: native American and Anglo-saxon/Norman. Thoreau distinguishes all of the trees he finds in the Maine woods by racial associations: "The hard woods, occasionally occurring exclusively, were less wild to my eye. I fancied them ornamental grounds, with farm-houses in the rear. The canoe and yellow birch, beech, maple, and elm are Saxon and Norman; but the spruce and fir, and pines generally are Indian" (108). Thoreau is not alone in associating pines with native Americans. For instance, as Robert Sayre argues, the pine tree was commonly associated with the Iroquois, for whom it was "a sacred tree, under which Dekanawida instructed them to bury their weapons in establishing the Great Peace of the Five Nations" (170). Typically, Francis Parkman extends this association to descriptions of native Americans in general, even Mene-Seela, one of the prairie-riders he admires:

> His face was turned upward, and his eyes seemed rivetted on a pine-tree springing from a cleft in the precipice above. The crest of the pine was swaying to and fro in the wind, and its long limbs waved slowly up and down, as if the tree had life. Looking for a while at the old man, I was satisfied that he was engaged in an act of worship, or prayer, or communion of some kind with a supernatural being. (330)

It is equally common for authors simply to conflate the figures of the pine tree and a native American brave in the

phrase, describing native American men as standing "tall and straight like a pine tree" (Simms' 131). Thoreau's journey into the Maine woods explores the intriguing possibility of a white pine, a "natural" man who combines Anglo-saxon with native American.

Thoreau's Maine wood journeys are punctuated by his unsuccessful search for the elusive white pine, his natural man. Throughout "Ktaadn," Thoreau finds "only the stumps of the white pine here, some of them of great size, these having been already culled out, being the only tree much sought after, even as low down as this. . . . It was the pine alone, chiefly the white pine, that had tempted any but the hunter to precede us on this route" (21). In "Chesuncook," Thoreau's party encounters two men who seek out stands of white pines for cutting, and Thoreau confesses, "I have often wished since that I was with them" (101). By the close of "Chesuncook," Thoreau directly questions two such explorers, "two manly-looking middle-aged men".

> I talked with one of them, telling him that I had come all this distance partly to see where the white-pine, the Eastern stuff of which our houses are built, grew, but that on this and a previous excursion into another part of Maine I had found it a scarce tree; and I asked him where I must look for it. With a smile, he answered, that he could hardly tell me. However, he said he had found enough to employ two teams the next winter in a place where there was thought to be none

left (144)

Obviously, the man is just a hireling of the logging corporation, one whose contract or reputation prevents him from revealing white pine stands, but Thoreau's mystification of the man's motives emphasizes the symbolic importance of the white pine to Thoreau. His paraphrase of the man's response suggests that the man knows where the pines are, but such knowledge it seems cannot be communicated. Either you have it, or you don't; the man does. Or else, the paraphrase suggests, Thoreau has been judged unworthy of the knowledge: the man can tell where the white pines stand, but he can hardly tell Thoreau. Either way, the man's secret knowledge makes him seem admirable, mysterious, and manly. Thoreau wishes that he "was with them" on forays to discover the white pine.

For Thoreau, the white pine is the primary secret of the Maine woods. Knowledge of its locations suggests an extraordinary--an almost native American--familiarity with the woods. In fact, Thoreau's admiration for the white men whom the lumber companies hire is reflected in his admiration of the native Americans whom he hires to reveal the secrets of the Maine woods. In "Ktaadn," Thoreau's native American guides fail to meet him, but in "Chesuncook" Thoreau hires Joe Aitteon as a guide, a native American whom

Thoreau observes more closely than he does the woods themselves. "I narrowly watched his motions, and listened attentively to his observations, for we had employed an Indian mainly that I might have an opportunity to study his ways" (95). Even in the stage coach to the ferry, Thoreau observes, "Besides his under clothing, [Aitteon] wore a red flannel shirt, woolen pants, and a black Kossuth hat. When he afterward had occasion to take off his shoes and stockings, I was struck by the smallness of his feet" (90).

Thoreau studies the native American men who know the woods to discover the secrets these men cannot tell him about the woods. When a moose has been wounded and Aitteon follows its trail, Thoreau "followed [Aitteon], watching his motions more than the trail of the moose" (112). Like Parkman, who cultivates "sympathy" with the manly Panther, Thoreau follows in Aitteon's footsteps, as if imitation and attention to detail will help him become an Anglo-saxon version of the native American. Unfortunately for Thoreau, "After following the trail about forty rods in a pretty direct course, stepping over fallen trees and winding between standing ones, he at length lost it . . . too soon, I thought, for a good hunter, and gave it up entirely" (112). Unlike the white explorers who find the white pine,

Alteon gives up on the moose, and hence really cannot help Thoreau

In "The Allegash and East Branch," the third of the Maine Woods trilogy, Thoreau hires Joe Polls, a guide with whom Thoreau was fully satisfied, as reflected in Emerson's funeral eulogy on Thoreau, which names John Brown, Walt Whitman, and Joe Polls as the three most important influences upon Thoreau's mature life (Sayre 184). Physically, Polis is described as a good example of a native American: "He was stoutly built, perhaps a little above the middle height, with a broad face and as others said perfect Indian features and complexion" (157). Thoreau's relationship to the perfectly Indian-featured Polls is characterized by the agreement they come to early in the journey: "I told him that in this voyage I should tell him all I knew, and he should tell me all he knew, to which he readily agreed" (168). Yet too commonly, when asked "'How do you do that?" Polls cannot explain: "'O, I can't tell you,' he replied. 'Great difference between ma and a white man'" (185). Here again, Thoreau receives the response which he'd gotten from the manly-looking men who hunt the white pines.

Thoreau does briefly encounter a "white hunter. [who] knew some of the resources of the Indian. He said

that he steered by the wind, or by the limbs of the hemlocks, which were largest on the south side. . . ." (185) The man tells Thoreau what he knows. This white hunter has partially accomplished what Thoreau aims at, establishing an educational rapport with a native American, and Thoreau studies him as carefully as he'd studied Alteon.

> Their leader was a handsome man about thirty years old, of good height, but not apparently robust, of gentlemanly dress and faultless toilet; such a one as you might expect to meet on Broadway. In fact, in the popular sense of the word, he was the most "gentlemanly" appearing man in the stage, or that we saw on the road. He had a fair white complexion, as if he had always lived in the shade, and an intellectual face, and with his quiet manners might have passed for a divinity student who had seen something of the world. The Indian [Polis] also knew him, and said to me, "the great hunter." (161)

The white hunter is as perfectly white a man as Polis is perfectly Indian. Polis's comment upon the "fair white" man's hunting ability cites his own authority, as a perfect native American, for evaluating the man's "native American" abilities. Ironically, the white hunter comments upon Polis' ability to earn cash. "He knew our man, and remarked that we had a good Indian there, a good hunter; adding that he was said to be worth $6,000" (162). Together, Polis and the white hunter demonstrate an ability that recalls the cultural exchange effected by Simms' Senutee and Harrison/Craven. They've learned from each other. It turns

out that the white hunter is spoken of as "one who could endure a great deal of exposure and fatigue without showing the effect of it" (161), and that Polis commonly used the stagecoach to carry him to and from hunting spots, an example, Thoreau suggests, of "an Indian availing himself cunningly of the advantages of civilization, without losing any of his woodcraft, but proving himself the more successful hunter for it" (201). This is precisely the kind of exchange Thoreau is eager for.

If these men can be seen as "white pines," as men who have combined disparate cultures to create a more economically efficient and effective identity, Thoreau's The Maine Woods explores the question of what political economy best supports the production of such men. The answer turns upon Thoreau's wordplay with "waste" and "lone." Thoreau characterizes the sawmills that surround the Maine woods as wasters of the white pine. The mills, Thoreau suggests, get comparatively little use from the separated pieces, they deform the white pine, and finally they stagnate trade. Thoreau opens "Ktaadn" with a scathing description of the lumber mills of the Maine woods sawing white pines:

> The mills are built directly over and across the river. . . . Through this steel riddle, more or less coarse, is the arrowy Maine forest, from Ktaadn and Chesuncook, and the head waters of the St. John, relentlessly sifted, till it comes out boards, clapboards, laths, and shingles such as

> the wind can take, still perchance to be slit and slit again, till men get a size that will suit. Think how stood the white-pine tree on the shore of Chesuncook, its branches soughing with the four winds, and every individual needle trembling in the sunlight--think how it stands with it now--sold, perchance to the New England Friction Match Company! (5)

Thoreau's comprehensive denunciation of destructive sawmills is reminiscent of Emerson's "The American Scholar" critique of the impact of American society upon Man.

> [T]his unit, this original fountain of power, has been so distributed to multitudes, has been so minutely subdivided and peddled out, that it is spilled into drops, and cannot be gathered. The state of society is one in which the members have suffered amputation from the trunk, and strut about so many walking monsters,--a good finger, a neck, a stomach, an elbow, but never a man. (64)

Like Emerson's "minutely subdivided" men, Thoreau's white pines are "relentlessly sifted," "slit and slit again, till men get a size that will suit." Like Emerson's men, who "have suffered amputation from the trunk," Thoreau's white pines have their "soughing" limbs and "trembling" needles stripped from the trunk of the tree.

Thoreau's critique of the dismemberment of the white pines extends beyond a simple denunciation of a society that impinges on nature's beauty. It is more than a condemnation of the effects of extraordinary divisions of labor upon working men. Thoreau criticizes the mills specifically as an anti-commercial force, one which impedes commercial

exchange. "There were in 1837, as I read, two hundred and fifty saw mills on the Penobscot, and its tributaries above Bangor. . . . No wonder that we hear so often of vessels which are becalmed off our coast, being surrounded a week at a time by floating lumber from the Maine woods (5). Quite literally, the mills saw so much lumber that they actually impede shipping. More locally, the mills impede the actual circulation of the river, merely by the dams that they require and the "more or less coarse riddle" (literally a kind of sieve), that they present.

Thus, the mills not only impede the exchange by which Thoreau's ideal men are produced, they also dismember--or break into constitutive parts-- the very white pines that Thoreau associates with effective mongrelization. The dismemberment Thoreau describes reverses the kind of exchange effected between Polis and the white hunter because, in Emerson's terms, it isolates parts of the "unit" called "white pine" just as the state of society isolates parts of the originary "unit" called "Man." In Thoreau's terms, the dismemberment transforms "one" into "lone"--it re-inscribes boundaries rather than transgressing them.

The impact of the passage is especially powerful in light of "Chesuncook," in which the association of white pines and manly bodies suggested in "Ktaadn" is re-

emphasized:

> [T]he pine is no more lumber than man is, and to be made into boards and houses is no more its true and highest use than the truest use of a man is to be cut down and made into manure. There is a higher law affecting our relation to pines as well as to men. A pine cut down, a dead pine, is no more a pine than a dead human carcass is a man. These are petty and accidental uses; just as if a stronger race were to kill us in order to make buttons and fiageolets of our bones. (121)

Here, more clearly than in "Ktaadn," Thoreau links men's bodies with white pines' bodies. Quick to discover the "man" in "manure," Thoreau notes that cutting down pines for their lumber is like reducing man to manure. This is, in the terms of Warner's argument, to "waste" the white pines by using them badly, and it is no better than wasting men. The work of the lumber mill literalizes Emerson's metaphor, its operation is the rhetorical equivalent of killing, dismembering, and selling parts of men but wasting the vast, vital potential of men.

It would be tempting to imagine that Thoreau resisted all manufacturing operations, in favor of unsullied nature, if "Ktaadn"'s opening pages did not depict a manufacturing operation that puts white pines to good use:

> At Oldtown we walked into a batteau manufactory. The making of batteaux is quite a business here for the supply of the Penobscot river. We examined some on the stocks. They are light and shapely vessels, calculated for rapid and rocky streams. They are made very

> slight, only two boards to a side, commonly secured to a few light maple or other hard-wood knees, but inward are of the clearest and wldest white-plne stuff, of which there ls a great waste on account of thelr form, for the bottom is left perfectly flat, not only from slde to slde, but from end to end. . . . They told us that one wore out in two years, or often ln a single trip, on the rocks, and sold for from fourteen to sixteen dollars. There was something refreshing and wildly musical to my ears in the very name of the white man's canoe, reminding me of Charlevoix and the Canadian Voyageurs. The batteau is a sort of mongrel between the canoe and the boat, a fur-trader's boat. (6)

Despite the fact that making batteaux is literally a business--even "quite a business"-- and although the batteaux are produced in a quantity for Thoreau to qualify the site as a manufactory, the very word "batteau" remains music to Thoreau's ears. As "a sort of mongrel," a cross between a native American contraption and an Anglo/Norman invention, the batteau recalls the hybrid status of Folis' and the white hunter's educations: the batteau manufactory enhances cultural exchange and expedites commerce. Moreover, the batteau produces boats, the primary vehicle of extended commerce. This is a good example, it seems to me, of the "natural and spontaneous growth" of manufacturing that Webster advocates to oppose regulated trade.

Perhaps the primary difference between the batteaux factory and the sawmills is that unlike the mills, which minutely subdivide the white pine trees, the batteaux

manufactury produces craft from "the clearest and widest white-pine stuff, of which there is a great waste on account of their form . . . ." To make the waste of wood more shocking, Thoreau notes that the batteaux commonly wear out in just one trip. The batteaux manufactury is a profligate user of white pine. Thoreau celebrates the broad, wasteful cut; he admires the brevity of the batteaux's usefulness.

An explanation for Thoreau's delight in such seeming waste is suggested by Thoreau's description of Ansell Smith's frontier home, where a similar profligacy of white pine is apparent:

> This house was designed and constructed with the freedom of stroke of a forester's axe, without other compass and square than Nature uses. Wherever the logs were cut off by a window or door, that is, were not kept in place by alternative overlapping, they were held one upon another by very large pins driven diagonally on each side, so close up and down as not to project beyond the bulge of the log, as if the logs clasped each other in their arms. These logs were posts, studs, boards, clapboards, laths, plaster, and nails, all in one. Where the citizen uses a mere sliver or board, the pioneer uses the whole trunk of a tree. (125)

This house is built not from the mere lumber of the mills, but from "the whole trunk of a tree." Although the tree has been cut down, when compared to the lumber of Massachusetts homes, the tree seems essentially "uncut." Instead of being dissected into its various components, the tree fulfills the many functions that it can: "These logs were

posts, studs, boards, clapboards, laths, plaster, and nails, all in one." Yet, where a citizen will use "a mere sliver or board," the profligate pioneer "uses the whole trunk of a tree." This isn't waste, so much, as delight in wholeness, and vast excess.

That Thoreau regards this as a superior use is evident from his portrait of the trees piled into walls "as if the logs clasped each other in their arms." Their loving cooperation in holding together this house recalls the Typee men's fraternal cooperation in the building of another home. The end result of this use of the pine tree also recalls the Typees' house-raising[3]. Indeed, just as Melville contrasts feeble city folk and diseased Nukuhevans to the beautiful Typees, Thoreau contrasts village houses to frontier houses: "We certainly leave the handsomest paint and clapboards behind in the woods, when we strip off the bark and poison ourselves with white-lead in the towns. We get but half the spoils of the forest. For beauty, give me trees with the fur on" (125). Leaving the tree uncut provides three benefits. It is more efficient; it allows men to get the "entire" use of the tree, rather than merely "half the spoils." It's healthier; it prevents us from "poison[ing] ourselves with white lead in the towns." It is more beautiful. Never reduced to a mere shingle, the tree

retains its full beauty. That its proper use, for Thoreau, is equated with the proper use of human bodies is indicated by Thoreau's assertion, "I do not hear that there was any carpenter or tailor among the gods" (126). Both, in short, are equally unnecessary when the bodies of men and trees are naturally beautiful, and divine. This is the most economically efficient and the most aesthetically pleasing use of the pine.

It is also an example of what Thoreau would call the white pine's "highest use." Such a use may actually reverse the inefficiency and deformity of misusing the pine:

> I realized that the former were not the highest use of the pine. It is not their bones or hide or tallow [of the tree] that I love most. It is the living spirit of the tree, not its spirit of turpentine, with which I sympathize, and which heals my cuts. It is as immortal as I am, and perchance will go to as high a heaven, there to tower above me still. (122)

For Thoreau, recognition of and sympathy with the living spirit of the tree "heals my cuts." The language suggests, first of all, that Thoreau's sympathy with the tree reverses the damage which his cutting of the tree--for lumber, or turpentine or whatever--might inflict, that he may now have free use of it. The language also suggests that Thoreau's "sympathy" for and love of the "living spirit" of the pine marks the tree as a reflection of himself, that his love of the pine heals the "cuts" upon his own body. It makes him

feel less like lumber, buttons, or manure. Thoreau suggests that this relationship to the white pine, and by extension to other men, actually reverses the devaluation that the mill inflicts. Thoreau implies that using each other as living spirits can actually transform pines and men from what Emerson calls "so many walking monsters" to something very different.

The importance of this passage exceeds extraordinary enthusiasm for nature. It founds Thoreau's elucidation of the relation man should have to nature and to one another. No wonder Thoreau attacked James Russell Lowell, editor of the Atlantic Monthly, so bitterly when Lowell struck the line describing the white pine's probable ascent to heaven: "I have just noticed," Thoreau wrote to Lowell, "that that sentence was, in a very mean and cowardly manner, omitted. I hardly need to say that this is a liberty which I will not permit to be taken with my MS" (Correspondence 515). Lowell never printed the line, nor wrote an apology.

Lessons of Fire

Thoreau's record of his journey to Mt. Ktaadn dramatizes the narrator's growing recognition that he can, productively and conveniently, step back from a political economy that dismembers and wastes him to one that heals and beautifies him. Even Thoreau's comprehensive condemnation

of the sawmills' action marks the possibility for the sawmills' redemption. Thoreau's surprising expostulation, "--sold, perchance, to the New England Friction Match Company!" seems to climax his condemnation of the sawmills' production of lumber, but the dash may also mark a change of heart. It certainly marks an alternative for the white-pine tree. The tree will not become the mere materials for an eastern house, and so it may serve an alternative economy.

The friction match, with its promise of fire, augurs a "wasteful" consumption of the white pine[4]. Through the rest of the text, Thoreau distinguishes matches from mere lumber--they are a means of drawing divergent people together rather than of keeping them apart.

Thoreau's estimation of the uses of the friction match resonates with common metaphors for the opposition to prohibitive tariffs. Debow's January of 1846 "Foreign Commerce" section points out that "[t]he policy of [Great Britain] appears to have undergone a change. There has been an increasing influence of the principles of free trade, stimulated by the works of her political writers from Adam Smith down. The object appears now to be to build up commerce in every possible way." Debow's expresses its approval of Great Britain's move by recalling the grand and mythic history of commerce.

> "The first seats of commerce were also the first seats of civilization. . . Exchange of merchandize leads to exchange of ideas, and by the mutual friction was first kindled the sacred flame of humanity." This is a striking and graphic expression of a great truth. Commerce began by an interchange or barter of the mere necessaries of life. The planter of the river's side offered bread in exchange for the sale and dried flesh of the hunter of the desert. But to this market of food, those who had none to offer, brought to obtain it spices and frankincense, and gold and silver, and precious stones, as they could obtain them. What can be more evident than that the desire for all these in turn was suggested from without, was a matter of reciprocal education--a step in civilization. Here, it was clearly the supply that created the demand; the demand reacting has increased the supply. . . As love, in the most exquisite German stories, created a soul in Undine, so a new want gives a new life to whomsoever feels it, provided it can be gratified. . . (January 1846, 86)

As I will show, the similarities between this description of the civilizing influences of commerce and and Thoreau's descriptions of the civilizing influences of the friction match are surprising.

For Thoreau, the friction match functions like commerce to distinguish between savage and civilized states. The Journal draft of "Ktaadn," which records Thoreau's thinking about Herman Melville's Typee, focuses on the scene in which Kory-Kory struggles to light a fire for Tommo. Kory-Kory's labor provides Thoreau an opportunity to observe that the production of matches distinguishes civilized from savage states:

> The savage & civillzed states offer no more striking contrast than when referred respectlvely to the element of fire-- Fire is the white man's servant and is near to him, and comes at his call He subdues nature by fire--steam powder [sic] the forge--the furnace--the oven--he draws down lightning--and with heat comes enlightenment and all amelioration & maturation-- It is genial and cordial--it imparts flavor & comfort-- With the friction of a match the master calls his servant.
>
> But how far from Fire stands the savage--cold--and dark--how ineffectual his authority. With what pain & sweat he rubs his two sticks together, before the fire will come. (Fall 1846, 2 316)

Thoreau's appreciation of fire leads him to extol the virtues of the forge, the furnace, the oven, and even that icon of non-agricultural production, steam power. These he links to other "civillzed" traits: enlightenment, amelioration, maturation, flavor, and comfort. And Thoreau attributes to fire two words whose entymological roots he frequently plays upon. First, he describes fire as "genial," suggesting that fire's warmth is both amiable and generative--"contributing to propagation or production" and "enlivening; contributing to life and growth." And fire is "cordial"--"relating to the heart" and "that which revives the spirits. . . a refreshing medicine that stimulates the heart." The manufacture of a match, and the access to fire that it allows, marks civilized man's access to the fundamental and invigorating energies which both "civilize" him and allow him to power machinery to extend his civilizing power.

In "Chesuncook," too, Thoreau demonstrates the "striking contrast" that friction matches create between civilized and savage men. When a native American named Sabattis informs Thoreau that the moose ears Thoreau had placed in the fire to dry and preserve must be skinned and cured to prevent the hair from falling off, Thoreau counters with knowledge of his own:

> I asked him how he got fire, and he produced a little cylindrical box of friction matches. He also had flints and steel, and some punk, which was not dry; I think it was from the yellow birch. "But suppose you upset, and these and your powder get wet." "Then," said he, "we wait till we get to where there is some fire." I produced from my pocket a little vial, containing matches stoppled water-tight, and told him, that, though we were upset, we should still have some dry matches; at which he stared without saying a word. (140)

Sabattis' prior knowledge of matches seems to throw Thoreau, but he simply changes tactics. He de-emphasizes Sabattis' "little" box of friction matches and draws attention to Sabattis' flints and steel, and his uselessly wet punk. In order to demonstrate, and share, his superior access to fire, Thoreau must pull an ace from his sleeve: the water-tight bottle which preserves his access to fire despite a dunking. Who knows what Sabattis thinks of Thoreau's revelation, but Thoreau implies that Sabattis has been outmatched

That Thoreau deaignates the friction match and flre as a mark of civillzed statea and that Dsbow's links "the flrst seats of clviiization" to "mutual frictlon" and the "flame of humanity" may or may not be mere coincidence. Both pun upon "strlking," as in strlking a match or a llght, in the phraaes "strlking contrast" and "strlking and graphlc expression." Moreover, Dsbow's infusee civllizing commerce wlth quallties rhetorlcally aaaociated with Thoreau's descriptlon of flre as "cordial" and "genial." DaSow's auggests that superfluous goods generate demand, that supply acts llke love to vitalize the soul, that it propagatea "new life." Commerce becomes a spirltually lnvlgoratlng force whlch prompts men to profitable "lnterchange," a strangely Thoreauvlan-soundlng play upon "exchange." Llke Dsbow's, Thoreau llnks flre to external and lnternal condltlons--cordiality, geniallty, camaraderie, enlightenment, humanity, and clvilization.

"Ktaadn" la, in fact, a leseon ln econonics aimed at Concordians, the people who felt so awful about the burnlng of their lots. "Ktaadn" demonstrates a way of llfe which would allow them to live profuaely and productively, rather than by scrimping and eaving. "Ktaadn" also aims to teach Concordians the means by which commercial relations can be

made genlel end cordial so that commercial interchenge makes perticipents feel better, not worse.

On the whole, "Ktaadn" reads like Walden's economic lesson to John Field, e man Thoreau describes as being so bogged down by e futile attempt to accumulate goods thet he has to work the herder to sustain himself in his work. But "Kteadn" commonly addresses Concordians directly, in thie case, to contrest them to the anti-John Fieldian, George McCeuslin:

> He entertained us a day or two with true Scotch hoepitelity, end would accept no recompense for it. A man of dry wit and shrewdness, end e generel intelligence which I hed not looked for in the beckwoode — If I were to look for a nerrow, uninformed, and countrified mind, as opposed to the intelligence and refinement which ere thought to emanate from cities, it would be among the rusty inhabitants of an old-settled country in the towne about Boston, even on the high road in Concord, end not in the beckwoods of Maine.
>
> Supper wes got before our eyes, in the ample kitchen, by e fire which would have roested en ox, many whole logs, four feet long, were consumed to boil our tea-kettle--birch, or beech, or maple, the eame summer end winter Everything here was in profusion, and the best of its kind. Butter was in such plenty, that it was commonly used, before it was salted, to grease boots with. (23)

McCauslin's wit end intellect, which distinguish him from some Concordians, seem linked to his capecity for prodigellty. He has enough of everything to give it awey, to let visitors ectually butter their boots, end to use any

wood he wants any time of the year, in lengths of four feet, to boil one pot of tea. Concordians, who lamented Thoreau's careless destruction of their woodlots and economized their woodlots year in and year out, must have envied such a prospect, but like John Field, Concordians would complain that they did not have the means to live like George McCauslin.

Thoreau exaggerates this theme mercilessly throughout "Ktaadn" and "Chesuncook." In "Chesuncook," Thoreau claims,

> It was worth the while to lie down in a country where you could afford such great fires. . . . We had first rolled up a large log some eighteen inches through and ten feet long, for a back log to last all night, and then piled on the trees to the height of three or four feet, no matter how green or damp. In fact, we burned as much wood that night as would, with economy and an air-tight stove, last a poor family in one of our cities all winter. It was very agreeable. . . . (104).

To a people who maintain woodlots or who buy their fuel, the burning of so much wood must seem an extraordinary luxury and Thoreau makes the most of it; he actually "[gets] up once or twice and put fresh logs on the fire, making his companions curl up their legs" (105). Thoreau portrays fire similarly in "Ktaadn," describing the fire as "the main comfort of a camp. . . . as well for cheerfulness, as for warmth and dryness. . . . [W]e had a fire some ten feet long by three or four high, which rapidly dried the sand before it" (39). And, again, although this fire is "calculated to

burn all night," Thoreau rises in the night to "[bring] fresh fuel to the fire" (40)

In "Ktaadn," Thoreau's extravagant consumption of wood is prefaced by a lesson on economy. He first describes the mode of clearing and planting land in Maine,

> to fell the trees, and burn once what will burn, then cut them up into suitable lengths, roll into heaps, and burn again, then with a hoe, plant potatoes where you can come at the ground between the stumps and charred logs, for a first crop, the ashes sufficing for manure, and no hoeing being necessary the first year. In the fall, cut, roll, and burn again, and so on, till the land is cleared (14)

The ashes, at least, function as manure, but Thoreau complains that the wood could be better used: "Here were thousands of cords, enough to keep the poor of Boston and New-York amply warm for a winter, which only cumbered the ground, and were in the settler's way. And the whole of that solid and interminable forest is doomed to be gradually devoured by fire, like shavings, and no man be warmed by it" (17).

The fault is not with the settlers who burn the forest, but with the people who resist traveling to a land which "can afford such great fires," people who complain that they do not have the means to live extravagantly. The land is available, but people do not make use of it. Immediately after describing the ease of clearing the land, through

burning, Thoreau exclaims, "Let those talk of poverty and hard times who will, in the towns in the cities, cannot the emigrant, who can pay his fare to New-York or Boston, pay five dollars more to get here,--I paid three, all told . . . and be as rich as he pleases, where land virtually costs nothing" (14). No wonder that when Thoreau finally gains a view of the Maine woods, he concludes, "When the country is settled and roads are made, these cranberries will perhaps become an article of commerce. . . . It was a large farm for somebody, when cleared" (66). These descriptions might lead settlers to make the economic decision to "burn" the five dollars required to reach Maine in order to harvest the profusion of marketable produce available in the Maine woods. The reason, in short, that people do not have riches is that they will not part with their poverty. In terms of DeBow's description of commerce's civilizing influence, the land has been supplied but the people will not react to increase the demand. They resist their education.

Economic Prospects: From Blindness to Insight

The sequence of events that climax "Ktaadn"-- Thoreau's ascent to the summit, his wild ride down a mountain stream, and his dramatic disorientation when confronted with "primeval, untamed, and forever untameable Nature" near the mountain's base in a burnt-out clearing--is the culmination

of Thoreau's lesson in political economy. The double climax of the text dramatizes Thoreau's reactions to the Maine woods as that of a typical Concordian--at first Thoreau resists the same lesson they resist. And it finally presents his melodramatically surprised recognition that nature could be vastly productive if people would simply use it extravagantly.

In ascending Mt. Ktaadn, Thoreau extends and literalizes Emerson's metaphors; he travels upstream from the dismembering mills and follows the Abolnageslc River to what he claims are the source, the "original fountain of power" for the mills, the clouds atop Mt. Ktaadn, and plunges in. Ironically, at the very summit of Mt. Ktaadn and the source of one of the rivers flowing into the sawmills, Thoreau discovers another manufacturing site: "It was like sitting in a chimney and waiting for the smoke to blow away. It was, in fact, a cloud-factory,--these were the cloud-works, and the wind turned them off done from the cool, bare rocks" (64). Literally, the cloud factory is an example of manufacturing springing up "naturally." More importantly, cloud production at this factory is regulated only by the law of supply and demand; the factory turns out clouds in precise relation to the pace at which the winds take them away. Perhaps more ironically, certainly

dramatically, Thoreau experiences a figurative dismemberment even at this natural manufacturing site. "Some part of the beholder, even some vital part, seems to escape through the loose grating of his ribs as he ascends. He is more lone than you can imagine . . . Nature has got him at disadvantage, caught him alone, and pilfers him of some of his divine faculty" (64). Thoreau is robbed, less divinely inspired, more merely embodied, lone and waste/manure, as if "a stronger race" had made "buttons" of his bones.

But Thoreau is also blinded here, quite literally by the clouds--"all objects were obscured by them. Now the wind would blow me out a yard or sunlight, wherein I stood; then a gray, dawning light was all it could accomplish. . . ." (63). The drama of Thoreau's loss of sight and spirit atop the mountain is, it seems to me, a bit too "dramatic"; but it clearly illustrates the condition that his text suggests men should pull themselves out of. Blinded atop the mountain, Thoreau feels shitty and worthless-- threatened by nature, robbed of his divinity, disjointed. Yet the Journal version of "Ktaadn" suggests, "Your epic poets must all be blinded first ere they can see the Elysium of nature and the divinity in men" (325). Faced with a divine prospect, Thoreau does not see it. He falls victim to the ailments

he would have experienced at the sawmills, as if he had not made the trip to the summit at all

But the recognition of blindness--Thoreau's inability to gain perspective atop Mt. Ktaadn--is a beginning in itself. The dramatic loss of sight is a prelude to the resurrection of Thoreau's prospects; he regains his sight, and transforms his body by plunging into the stream which feeds the very factories he could hardly see before. He descends the mountain in the very torrent which tumbled down, "literally from out of the clouds" which had blinded him (59) To add to the sense of invented melodrama atop the mountain, even this invigorating swim is preseged by Thoreau's fishing in the same river the night before. The party catches a number of what Thoreau describes as "flowers," fish swimming in the Abolnagesic River rushing down from Ktaadn.

> Instantly, a shoal of white chivin, (leuciscl pulchelli,) silvery roaches, cousin-trout, or what not, large and small, prowling thereabouts, fell upon our bait, and one after another were landed amidst the bushes. Anon their cousins, the true trout, took their turn, and alternately the speckled trout, and the silvery roaches, swallowed the bait as fast as we could throw in, and the finest specimens of both that I have ever seen . were heaved upon the shore, though at first in vain, to wriggle down into the water again, for we stood in the boat; but soon we learned to remedy this evil, for one, who had lost his hook, stood on shore to catch them as they fell in a perfect shower around him--sometimes wet and slippery, full in his face and bosom, as his arms were

> outstretched to receive them. While yet alive, before their tints had faded, they glistened like the fairest flowers, the product of primitive rivers, and he could hardly trust his senses, as he stood over them, that these jewels should have swum away in that Aboljacknagesic water for so long, so many dark ages,--these bright fluviatile flowers, seen of Indians only, made beautiful, the Lord only knows why, to swim there! (53-54)

The man's posture, arms wide to receive the trout, models an attitude toward nature's prodigal produce which enables the narrator to transform the gruesome image of wet fish raining on his head and chest into a rain of flowers, like a celebratory parade--he is ready for anything wonderful. He accepts a kind of riches, "the product of primitive rivers"--not only dinner, of course, but also the flowery beauty of the fish, like swimming jewels. Although the enrichment relies upon Thoreau's ability to value the product, the beauty of the fishes relies upon their continued circulation. Thoreau's punning upon flower, like an orchis, and a flower, like a river or a trout in a river, is obvious here--the trout are "fluviatile flowers," which is to say that they swim flowingly in the river but they are also as beautiful as flowers. Moreover, they are only flowers when they are swimming. When taken from the river, they lose their tints.

The beautiful trout are an example for Thoreau's party to follow. Down this same river the party journeys from the

summit of Mt Ktaadn to the Burnt lands below. And by the time he reaches he Burnt lands, Thoreau has been transformed the pleasure of his journey down the river from which he fishes the beautiful trout:

> We thus travelled about four miles in the very torrent itself, continually crossing and recrossing the stream down falls of seven or eight feet, or sometimes sliding down on our backs in a thin sheet of water. . . . It was a pleasant picture when the foremost turned about and looked up in the winding ravine, walled in with rocks and the green forest, to see at intervals of a rod or two, a red-shirted or green-jacketed mountaineer against the white torrent, leaping down the channel with his pack on his back, or pausing upon a convenient rock in the midst of the torrent to mend a rent in his clothes, or unstrap the dipper at his belt to take a draught of the water . . . The cool air above, and the continual bathing of our bodies in mountain water, alternate foot, sitz, douche, and plunge baths, made this walk exceedingly refreshing. . . . (67-68)

Here, as in the description of the fish shower, the narrator becomes a third-person participant in the action. Given his sympathy with the perspective, he is almost certainly "the foremost," the one who turns to see the others following him. He functions as both the seer and the seen, a part of the spectacle which he invites us to imagine. He frames his invitation to objectification by insisting that it is a "pleasant picture" to see these men hurtling down the mountain in the midst of the torrent. This isn't simply a nature scene--the men are not pictured utopianly as "part" of nature but are juxtaposed to it, in distinct, practical

relations. One mends his ripped clothing, one sips a dipper into the stream, and another leaps, with his backpack on.

These men are pleasant to look upon, part of the scene, because of their immersion in the torrent. "I would fain be the channel of a <u>mr</u> brook," Thoreau complains. "I bathe me in the [Concord] river--I lie down where it is shallow--amid the weeds over its sandy bottom <u>but</u> it seems shrunken & parched--I find it difficult to get <u>wet</u> through" (III 327). If Thoreau suggests that Concord River lacks water, lacks current, he describes this mountain stream repeatedly as the reverse. It is torrential, the movement down it precipitous. The result of such rapid and uncertain movement is that each man takes constant baths: "alternate foot, sitz, douche, and plunge baths." "We regard bathing," O. S. Fowler asserts, "and especially in the cold water bath (when the constitution is sufficiently vigorous to produce reaction,) as almost a specific both in preventing and curing colds. . To those who take little exercise, the bath will be of <u>special</u> service by in part supplying the deficiency in promoting circulation" (89). The various baths in a mountain stream could be counted on to promote physical circulation.

The variety of baths are certain also to get the men "wet through," as if the stream itself had entered their bodies and is literally circulating in them, as it does in the trout who breathe it [3] The picture of one man, dipping into the stream for a drink, emphasizes this relation. Finally, the four bathe clean and purify the men, especially the sitz bath, which encourages the elimination of waste. The men become a "channel" for circulation, and given this environment, as the stream flows through them, the men are easily described as pleasant to look upon. The constant activity of these male bodies makes them orchis-like, liable to transform the waste of their bodies into something beautiful, civilized, circulateable, and useful. Thoreau's inclusion of himself in the picture suggests that the distress he had felt atop Mt Ktaadn has been countered by his immersion in this rushing stream.

When next he encounters the primitive and pilfering matter of titanic nature, in the Burnt lands, Thoreau has reason to believe that he can transform them, as he has transformed himself. Nonetheless, Thoreau dramatizes the moment of recognition, and significantly enough for reading Concordians, Thoreau "discovers" the terms of his political economy in a forest that is no worse for having been once burned over.

> We were passing over 'Burnt Lands,' burnt by lightning, perchance, though they showed no recent marks of fire, hardly so much as a charred stump, but looked rather like a natural pasture for the moose and deer . . . I found myself traversing them familiarly, like some pasture run to waste, or partially reclaimed by man. (70)

Initially, Thoreau does not recognize where he is. He engages the familiar assumptions that he would employ in, for instance, a burnt Concord lot, imagining that the burnt land is "partially reclaimed by man," but largely "run to waste." He expects a "proprietor to rise up and dispute my passage" (70). He feels that dispossessed of the land and, simultaneously, that the land has "run to waste." It holds nothing for him.

That perspective shifts when Thoreau makes the seemingly difficult transition to imagining that the "Burnt Lands" are not possessed by any man:

> It is difficult to conceive of a region uninhabited by man. We habitually presume his presence and influence everywhere. And yet we have not seen pure Nature, unless we have seen her thus vast, and drear, and inhuman, though in the midst of cities. . . . Here was no man's garden, but the unhandselled globe. It was not lawn, nor pasture, nor mead, nor woodland, nor lea, nor arable, nor waste-land. . . . It was Matter, vast, terrific . . . (70)

The recognition that the land is unowned, or at least well outside the presence and uninfluenced by man, allows Thoreau to recognize the Burnt lands as neither wasted woodlot or pasture run to waste--he recognizes it as "vast, and drear,

and inhuman." Re-imagining the property as "no man's garden, but the unhandseiled globe" leads Thoreau to postulate the presence of unowned property not only out in the wilderness but also even "in the midst of cities." All property suddenly seems up for grabs, no longer "waste-land"-- merely "Matter, vast, terrific."

In fact, the disjointed unraveling of Thoreau's thinking on the burnt lands merely dramatizes the logic he unfolds in his Journal, as he recalls the time he "once set fire to the woods":

> Hitherto I had felt like a guilty person--nothing but shame & regret--but now I settled the matter with myself shortly--& said to myself--who are these men who are said to be the owners of these woods & how am I related to them? I have set fire to the forest--but I have done no wrong therein--& now it is as if the lightning had done it. These flames are but consuming their natural food. So shortly I settled it with myself & stood to watch the approaching flames. It was a glorious spectacle & I was the only one there to enjoy it. (After May 31, 1850, 75-76)

The conclusion that had been dramatically surprised out of Thoreau by his confrontation with the primitive Maine woods is arrived at "shortly" in the midst of the fire in Concord woods--those woods, too, had been burned, "perchance by lightning." The Concord woodlots, too, are "no man's garden." They also are owned by "so called owners," men "who are said to be the owners" of the land. And the Concord woods, it can be inferred, are not waste-land, but "Matter,

vast, terrific." The Burnt lands passage dramatizes, [illegible] melodramatizes, an earlier event.

Formed and fashioned, but "unhandselled," the Burnt lands await the hand of man. The Burnt Lands, and by extension the Concord woods, seem vast because they are not lawn or mead or woodland or lea, etc, but because, as Matter, they may be. The owners are only "so called owners," and whatever use man makes of them, the original product remains: "what the Powers had made there, the form and fashion of their work" "made out of Chaos and Old Night,""what God saw fit to make this world," "so Nature made it, and man may use it if he can" (70-71). Those who seek its values have discovered "the charm of invention and discovery," which, as Thoreau explains in his journal draft of "Ktaadn," is

> [t]o find out the relation of something in nature to man. On which side to place it that the light may fall upon it aright-- To put things in their place-- To play a tune and put an end to discord. The savage splits the fibre of the breadfruit leaf and inserts his head in it--and is naturally delighted with his 'superb head-dress'--for he has discovered a slight use of nature or relation to himself in her works. (317)

Nature's matter encourages such consumption; in their turn, such uses stimulate nature's (re-)production. Hoarding the land, however, stifles or slows invention, discovery, and production. The great user of woodlots, consummate consumer

of wood, fire's demand for wood always meets the supply, and its action reminds us that "Burnt lands" are "not lawn, nor pasture, nor mead, nor woodland, nor lea, nor arable, nor waste-land." A Burnt land is not a waste land precisely because it is unlimited and open to broad possibilities.

Indeed, already the burnt lands "showed no recent marks of fire, hardly so much as a charred stump, but looked rather like a natural pasture for the moose and deer . . . with occasional strips of timber crossing them, and low poplars springing up, and patches of blueberries here and there" (70). As Thoreau notes,

> [Fire] is without doubt an advantage on the whole It sweeps and ventilates the forest floor, & makes it clear and clean. It is natures [sic] besom By destroying the punier underwood it gives prominence, it gives prominence [sic] to the larger & sturdier trees. . . . When lightning burns the forest its director make [sic] no apology to man--and I was but his agent. Perhaps we owe to this accident partly some of the noblest natural parks. (after July 1, 1850; 91)

Fire doesn't destroy the land, it encourages the land to nobler productions. That is Thoreau's response to those Concordians who "declared behind my back that I was a 'damned rascal' & a flibberty-gibbit or two who crowed like the old cock--shouted some reminiscences of "Burnt woods" from safe recesses--for some years after" (After May 31, 1850 78). "I have had nothing to say to any of them,"

Thoreau insists, but "Ktaadn [illegible] a Thoreauvian counterpoint.

Thoreau's experience on the Burnt lands reverses the feelings of worthlessness, or shittiness, which atop Mt Ktaadn transformed his body into something from which "[some] part of the beholder, even some vital part, seems to escape through the loose grating of the ribs as he ascends" (64). There, Thoreau has, metaphorically, lost heart--he quails. In the Burnt lands, however, Thoreau rediscovers his sense of humor and a new relationship to his actual heart.

> I stand in awe of my body, this matter to which I am bound has become strange to me. I fear not spirits, ghosts, of which I am one,--<u>that</u> my body might,--but I fear bodies, I tremble to meet them What is this Titan that has possession of me? Talk of mysteries!--Think of our life in nature,--daily to be shown matter, to come in contact with it,--rocks, trees, wind on our cheeks! the <u>solid</u> earth! the <u>actual</u> world! the <u>common sense!</u> <u>Contact!</u> <u>Contact!</u> <u>Who</u> are we? <u>where</u> are we?
>
> Ere long we recognized some rocks and other features in the landscape which we had purposely impressed on our memories, and quickening our pace, by two o' clock we reached the batteau. (71)

Here, Thoreau's loss of heart is serdonic". The exaggerated fear, trembling and anxiety which he expresses, culminating in two desperately intoned questions, "<u>Who</u> are we? <u>Where</u> are we?" is straight-facedly and suddenly dismissed by the simple recognition of some landmarks The party had been literally lost

Critics of "Ktaadn," I would add, have commonly been more seriously lost when faced with this passage. James McIntosh and Sherman Paul are most widely recognized for suggesting that Thoreau is suddenly at odds with nature[11], but according to John Tallmadge "[a]ll [Thoreau critics] ask how deeply Mt. Katahdin shook [Thoreau's] faith in nature's humanity. . . ." (137). Tallmadge and I agree that the passage demonstrates Thoreau's extraordinary authorial control rather than any real confusion or dismay[12]. Tallmadge suggests that Thoreau includes what he calls the "Contact!" passage for aesthetic reasons.

> Because it vastly complicates the relations among author, narrator, text, subject, and reader, the passage opens up new artistic ground for a writer who has discovered that Wordsworthian nature writing cannot be transported to North America. (147)

If critics have studied this (melo-)dramatic passage as particularly revelatory because it is atypical of Thoreau--even Tallmadge calls it "unique in his published writings" (147)--I would say that the passage is revelatory because particularly typical of Thoreau. To an author whose sense of humor led him, as Michael West notes, to describe himself doing his "business" in the woods, such (literal) misdirection must have been a fine, sardonic joke[13].

Yet Thoreau does make an important point here. The passage requires the reader to have, by this point,

recognized that "matter" marks vast, inexhaustable potential. Those who have not (flibberty-gibbits?) will be shaken and disoriented by the passage--it is wasted on them. Those who have will recognize the authorial control required to describe the feeling of wonder that Thoreau has been leading us to throughout the text, and laugh as Thoreau slyly shrugs it off--obviously, he was never lost. Quite the opposite.

Thoreau's The Maine Woods tends to naturalize the language of commerce, or to commercialize the economy of nature. Either way, The Maine Woods delineates a means by which Concordians who feel shitty about the "loss" of their woodlots could begin to feel good about themselves. The fact is, Thoreau suggests, they are shitty, because they are not "wasteful" enough. To become otherwise, they must truly embrace the law of supply and demand. Rather than manipulating their demands, and stockpiling their supplies, they must educate themselves to demand what the earth provides. They must burn what wood they have, if only because scarcity of fuel will force the population to migrate to the Maine woods, where the product is plentiful, the demand low, and much is wasted. Rather than clinging to an artificially maintained status quo, they must invent new ways of using the earth, if the old do not work. This is a

real faith in free trade, a doctrine which Thoreau embraces not only as the most productive but as the most aesthetic, and civilized for the man who engage in it.

Notes

1. In an infrequently cited piece, "'Action from Principle' Thoreau's Transcendental Economics," William L. Stull remarks,

> In Thoreau's transcendental economics, the expediency of capitalism proves to be wasteful of the human spirit, while the play of nature proves efficient and orderly. . . . Thoreau again and again points to nature, which, as he demonstrates in the "Natural History," observes a singular listlessness and leisure when most productive." (61)

Stull's brief article foreshadows Grusin's; both link nature's leisure/extravagance to an efficient natural economy.

2. Linked to Thoreau's resistance to capitalism, for Warner, is Thoreau's refusal to "adopt the protective misrecognitions that constitute heterosexuality" (Bottom 65), that is, a misrecognizing of gender as a primary mark of difference, or otherness, which affirms subjectivity and allows eroticization. For Warner, Thoreau's refusal to adopt the "protective misrecognition" allows him to eroticize other men, Thoreau's enjoyment of waste signals a fascination with man's--and pond's--tight bottoms, and Thoreau's imagined penetration of and by men marks a "fantasy of the mutual continence and penetration of the other." It seeks both to confirm and to erase a boundary between self and other" (Bottoms 79). In suggesting that a subject who does not recognize gender as a primary mark of difference will eroticize only the "same" gender, that Thoreau will eroticize only masculine bodies, Warner's argument re-inscribes, anachronistically, the homo-/heterosexual organization he aims to unsettle. I believe that Thoreau eroticizes men as beautiful precisely because he does recognize gender distinctions, because manly beauty in particular marked economic and physiological productivity/efficiency.

3) Philip Yanella's "Walden: A Socio-Economic Analysis" suggests that, according to historical data, Thoreau is correct in "Economy" to characterize the Concord community as significantly impinged upon by economic pressures. Concord reflected the characteristics of the industrializing Massachusetts economy:

> great disparities in the distribution of local wealth, a small core population which possessed the wealth, the high status occupations, and its supportive kinship network, and a volatile, mobile immigrant and native American population that was young and propertyless. (19)

Robert Gross has done similar work. Their studies imply that as Thoreau concentrates upon Concord's socio-economic organization he also cites and interposes in debates over the socio-economic organization of the state and nation.

4) The language that Thoreau "re-invigorates" was already alive in southern economic journals. I've argued this in earlier chapters, but "Political Economy--Manufactures," published in the April 1846 edition of The Southern Quarterly Review, is a good, specific example of southern critiques of northern economic policies. To advance its critique of Northeastern advocacy of the protective tariff policy, "Political Economy--Manufactures" cites the language of a famous, pro-tariff New Englander, Daniel Webster, a speech given in October of 1820 to listeners at Faneuil Hall in Boston:

> For [Webster's] part he did not consider a great manufacturing population a benefit to be purchased with so much cost. He thought there were great evils in it. Manufacturing capital comes to be owned by but a few. It does not therefore encourage industry, like capital employed in some other pursuits. Half a million dollars, vested in manufactures, gives employment to 265 persons, and they, principally women and children. Commerce and agriculture, employed and supported a much greater number, and it must be obvious to every one, how much more, capital thus employed, encourages industry, by finding employment, and therefore, by raising wages, than capital employed in large manufactures. . . . [W]e have regarded with pleasure the establishment and success of manufactures among us; and consider their growth when natural and spontaneous and not the effect of a system of bounties and protection, as an evidence of general wealth and prosperity. (July,

1846, 414)

Here, Webster's rhetoric seems to echo Thoreau's enthusiasm for the "economy of nature"; Webster prefers the "natural and spontaneous" "growth" of manufacturing to a manufacturing interest which is "the effect of a system." In doing so, Webster also identifies "proper" manufactures as those which arise as part of a commercial economy.

As the author of the article obviously realizes, this 1820s speech of the presently pro-tariff Webster resists imposition of a protective tariff--it argues for free trade based on a commitment to commerce and agriculture. The article reveals the hypocrisy of the North's pro-tariff stance. No longer than twenty-five years prior, even Daniel Webster opposed prohibitive tariffs, and for the same reasons free traders opposed them during the 1840s. As the article suggests, although such language was nominally "dead" in the Northeast, it had died recently, perhaps unnaturally, and it still circulated in the South.

5 For more on Thoreau's uses of Typee, see Robert Sattlemeyer's "Thoreau and Melville's Typee," American Literature: A Journal of Literary History, Criticism, and Bibliography 52 (1980). 462-68.

6 As Harper's Monthly Magazine notes, the lucifer match was in 1850 a recent and much heralded triumph of mass manufactures. It made indispensable fire convenient and inexpensive for a broad swath of Americans. The Journal draft of "Ktaadn" suggests that Thoreau may encourage the production of friction matches as a vehicle of commerce, just as he does the production of batteaux. The Journal version of the line reads even more uncertainly than the published version: "They are they slit and slit again till you get a size that will suit for the ship or house or lucifer match" (Fell 1846, J2 282). The terms here are similar to those in the published version, a distinction between the lumber of a house and the timber for a boat, or ship. How is the lucifer match aligned with those distinctions?

7 William Stull notes the importance of fire in "Ktaadn" first as "betoken[ing] human civilization," as a "'good citizen of the world,'" and as an agent of Prometheus, "the civilizer" (45-46). Stull suggests that fire becomes a starkly destructive, negative force by "Ktaadn"'s end, but I believe that Thoreau merges what seem opposites, that he

links fire's seeming wastefu[illegible] potential

8 The primary metaphor for Thoreau's physical transformation is not, in this case, the white pine, but a related image--a flower, specifically the orchid:

> The wilderness is simple, almost to barrenness; . . . A civilized man, using the word in the ordinary sense, with his ideas and associations, must at length pine there [in the wilderness], like a cultivated plant, which claspa its fibres about a crude and undissolved mass of peat. . . .
>
> But there are spirits of a yet more liberal culture, to whom no simplicity is barren. There are not only stately pines, but fragile flowers, like the orchises, commonly described as too delicate for cultivation, which derive their nutriment from the crudest mass of peat. These remind us, that, not only for strength, but for beauty, the poet must, from time to time, travel the logger's path and the Indian's trail, to drink at some new and more bracing fountain of the Muses, far in the recesses of the wilderness. (156)

A merely civilized man, "using the word in the ordinary sense," will not know how to absorb and transform the simplicity of the wilderness--he will "pine" there. A "super-civilized" man, however, what Thoreau calls a spirit "of a yet more liberal culture," may be nourished by the very simplicity/barrenness which seems insufficient to others. Rather than "pining," he will be like one of the wild's "stately pines" or "fragile flowers," will look not merely "for strength, but for beauty." That effort will reflect upon himself, giving him strength and beauty.

9. For more on Thoreau's concern for physiology, see Armstrong and West.

10. The heart becomes a major metaphor in "Ktaadn" not only because it is richly metaphorized as an agent of love and/or gusto in its own right, but also because it is the fundamental agent of bodily circulation. Thoreau links the language of physiology to the language of free trade, of civilizing commercial interchange, to demonstrate the importance of extended and maintained circulation to the production of beautiful, civilized bodies. Thoreau's demonstration of the means for recovering his heart carries particular importance for his relation to his neighbors in

Concord (literally "with heart") and it is no mistake that Thoreau's rejuvenation specifically transforms his understanding of the "Burnt Lands."

11. If Paul and McIntosh focus upon Thoreau's recovery, other critics emphasize the victims of Thoreau's loss of equilibrium. Linda Frost, for instance, suggests that Thoreau posits nature as a maternal adversary that he must defeat. Gregory Pfitzer describes "Ktaadn" as an Oedipal tale--Mt. Ktaadn becomes the mother he must not have and must have. In both Frost and Pfitzer, native/natural Americans suffer from Thoreau's conflict with mother nature.

12. Among those arrayed against Tallmadge and myself are Stephen Adams and Donald Ross, Lewis Leary, John Blair and Augustus Trowbridge, Kevin Radaker (twice), Lewis Miller, Lane Lauriat, Jr., Tsutomu Shigematsu, Ronald Wesley Hoag, Leo Stuller, and more. All agree that Thoreau was defeated, disappointed, shocked.

13. In "Thoreau at Work: The Writing of 'Ktaadn,'" Robert C. Cosbey unsettles critiques of Thoreau "as a writer [who] has often been described as skilled only in the construction of sentences, not in the handling of larger units" (21). Such assumptions seem to undergird critical assertions that Thoreau's "Contact!" passage is most significant for what it says of Thoreau's loss of control. Cosbey describes Thoreau's careful revision of the original "Ktaadn" draft around one unifying idea: "the wild."

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

This dissertation aims to complicate critical understanding of antebellum masculinity because the stories we tell of the past inform the ways we recognize the present. Perhaps the most well-recognized image of nineteenth-century American masculinity as it is represented in terms of economy is the self-made man, whose leading quality, according to Irvin G. Wyllie, is "belief that any man can achieve fortune through the practice of industry, frugality, and sobriety" (6). This dissertation demonstrates another leading quality of antebellum manhood: a dedication to producing the social and commercial relationships that propped identification with an ideal of manly beauty.

By emphasizing the ways that men's economic activities contributed to maintaining social bonds and advancing the "civilization" of the community, the dissertation corrects a critical overemphasis of the ways "self-made" men's economic activities relied upon anti-social aggression and competition. For instance, Michael Kimmel's overview of American manhood suggests that the 1830s introduced a market

"[w]here many could never attain the self-made manhood of success, [and where] middle-class masculinity pushed egotism to extremes of aggression, calculation, self-control and unremitting effort" (10). John D'Emilio's and Estelle B. Freedman's overview of sexuality in the nineteenth century suggests that the developing marketplace produced an "ideal of the self-made man, conquering nature and acquiring wealth" (57). Charles Sellers describes the "True Man," challenged daily by marketplace competition and seeking refuge in a domestic space. And John G. Cawelti, who identifies specific and various traditions for the self-made man, repeats the assumption that in the 1830s the self-made man became suddenly anti-social and aggressive. "the young American of the nineteenth century listened with respect to the advice of these advocates of tradition and then went on to mark out his own conception of the self-made man as an aggressive, go-getting, and rapidly moving entrepreneur" (36).

Cawelti's description indicates the chicken-and-egg conundrum surrounding the formation of aggressivity in the self-made man, one that is analogous to the inherent paradox of the term. Was there a tradition of aggression that allowed young men to resist the "advocates of tradition"? If there was no social precedent, how did these men "make"

themselves economically aggressive? Explanations of the origin of the self-made man's aggression commonly assume its a priori existence, implicitly connecting aggression with the "nature" of masculinity. Anthony Rotundo's overview of American manhood, for instance, ascribes the antebellum shift in men's gender roles to the market's liberation of passions heretofore circumscribed by puritanic community strictures:

> With assertiveness, greed, and rivalry set free in the public counsels, old dilemmas arose in new forms. The Puritans had looked on these passions as a threat to social order. . . How, then, could the new order be saved from destruction by the very engines of male passion that drove it? How could the individual man be civilized? (20)

Rotundo answers his own question by identifying boyhood as a cultural repository for excessive masculine passion and womanhood as a civilizing influence upon the mature man--but the question already assumes that the marketplace was driven by "male passion" that had been set free by a marketplace revolution.

David G. Pugh's examination of manhood in nineteenth-century America assumes the same values but reverses Rotundo's question: how can the sons of liberty express their aggressivity despite the influence of civilizing women?

> Ever since Rip Van Winkle's legendary flight from female civilization and his eventual return to it,

> America's fictional metaphorical heroes have moved between two worlds--domestic and wild.
>
> The undefiled West was a refuge for threatened man, but it was also, and more importantly, an adversary to be conquered, a resource to be plundered and plowed. They were Ahabs exerting themselves over other men and facing, with pathological irony, the possibility of their own destruction . . . (10-11)

If the seemingly celebratory tone of Pugh's depictions of liberated masculine passions are countered by the somewhat concerned tone of Rotundo's description of "freed" masculine competitiveness, both examine masculinity in the terms of the rhetoric they critique, masculinity as "truly" passion/competition, either controlled or cut loose.

This dissertation assumes that to ground masculine aggressivity in nature is to dissociate it from the historical, cultural conditions that contextualize it and that give it meaning. As is well known, the term "self-made man" was coined by Henry Clay in 1831, in a particular historical context. Clay used it to advocate his "American system" during the tariff debates in the United States Senate. Clay suggested that "almost every manufactory known to me is in the hands of enterprising and self-made men, who have acquired whatever wealth they possess by patient and diligent labor." Clay was countering suggestions that manufactures strove to dominate the economic community at the expense of other members of the community.

Manufacturers were "self-made," Clay implied, because like other American laborers manufacturers earned their capital by participating in fair and equal commerce. Clay defends "self-made" manufacturers as workers who were "independent" (self-made) of unfair government assistance to associate manufacturers with an economic system of interdependent, domestic commerce. He was not implying that individual manufactures had "made themselves" successful by clawing their way to the top of a competitive heap; instead, he was resisting charges that manufactures were creating domestic monopolies by prohibiting imports and international competition. The self-made men whom Clay describes are, he insists, economically dependent on their communities, not in sole control of their economic destinies and not eager to have such control.

That simple observation, as this dissertation indicates, has broad implications for our understanding of the male protagonists of nineteenth-century American literature. Men like Henry David Thoreau and Cooper's Natty Bumppo, who have been characterized as determined to be socially and economically isolated, this dissertation characterizes as determined to maintain social and economic interderdependence, in accord with the antebellum traditions of manhood in the United States. Their social isolation

should not be read as a retreat from economic interaction, and their emphasis upon the sanctity of selfhood should not be read as concession to a social organization privileging masculine aggression. Instead, we see them negotiating the terms of self-made manhood in a region associated with economic conditions antithetical to free trade, civilization, and manly beauty.

Moreover, the dissertation shows broad distinctions in the regional portrayals of "self-made" masculinity, distinctions that reflect Whig/Democrat disputes over the tariff policy, and over economic policies in general. The masculine heroes of William Gilmore Simms, a democrat in the Democratic South, unconflictedly assume the commercial trappings of the self-made men against foriegn social/commercial organizations. The masculine heroes of Henry David Thoreau, a democrat in Whig-dominated Massachusetts, must demonstrate the advantages of commerce for the production of manhood within a local economic organization that resisted the commercial organization that supported representations of manly beauty. And northeasterners Francis Parkman, Herman Melville, and James Fenimore Cooper all compromise their portrayals of manhood as they come to terms with the prohibitive tariff policies associated with their region.

Manly beauty functioned in the Northeast similarly to the ways that, according to George Mosse, it functioned in Europe. In late eighteenth-century Europe, as in the antebellum US, "Social hierarchies were being challenged by the new forces unleased by the industrial revolution with its new opportunities for commerce and manufacture, its new speed of communications. . . ." (Mosse 34). Mosse asserts, "the manly beauty of Greek youths not only provided an example for those who sought *Bildung* but was a part of nature and nature's laws, a steady base in a rapidly changing world" (36). In antebellum America, however, manly beauty was not only a part of "nature and nature's laws" but also a testimony to the "natural" laws of political economy--that is, beautiful male bodies marked bourgeois masculinity as both natural and economically productive because they were recognized as articulating the principles of political economy. Political economists and politicians recognized manly beauty as related to economic and physiologic health, and representations of masculine narrators in popular novels picked up such characterizations and disseminated them. The text demonstrates that authors of popular works represented their manly heroes in light of economic roles for antebellum men that emphasized a dedication to producing and maintaining social and commercial relationships, and it

shows that representations of socially and economically successful men were marked by manly beauty.

Understanding the ways that antebellum American masculinity could be characterized as beautiful changes the way we see some nineteenth-century male heroic figures, however, this dissertation may also provide a basis for considering the ways we understand late twentieth-century masculinity. Criticism of filmic portrayals of masculinity has examined men as objects of the spectatorial gaze within a grim opposition between aggression and passivity that recalls the binary terms through which 20th-century critics have depicted the self-made man.

Such film criticism commonly draws upon Laura Mulvey's formulation of the role of beauty in negotiating castration anxiety.

> The male unconscious has two avenues of escape from this castration anxiety: preoccupation with the re-enactment of the original trauma . . . counterbalanced by the devaluation, punishment, or saving of the guilty object. . . . or else complete disavowal of castration . . . This second avenue, fetishistic scopophilia, builds up the physical beauty of the object, transforming it into something satisfying in itself. (29)

Steve Neale comments, for instance, that Mulvey's work ignores the possibility of a male object, that for Mulvey, "Physical beauty is interpreted solely in terms of the female body" (285). Neale counters that--particularly in westerns-

-male bodies are filmically represented as beautiful, but only when the perspectives fragment the male bodies--as if to "disavow any explicitly erotic look at the male body" (285)--within a narrative context of combat and aggression. Paul Willemen and Paul Smith advance Neale's commentary. Willemen sets Neale's observations into a three-part narrative sequence: he claims that in Anthony Mann's westerns the hero's body is first admired (perhaps erotically), then beaten by others (like Neale's fragmenting views), and finally restored through violence against others. Paul Smith accepts Willemen's formulation, identifying what he calls the "masochistic moment" as "a kind of trial that we men know we have to go through, but which will not take all our energy" (106). As a freeze-framed example of the masculine experience, Smith posits Fran Leibowitz's photograph of Clint Eastwood, "this iconic male body" that is "the very type of a unique masculine beauty" (989).

Within this rubric, male bodies can be recognizedly beautiful only as bound, beaten, or fragmented--only as the male body is recognizedly the potential victim of violence or its perpetrator. This formulation of manly beauty would be less relevant to descriptions of manly beauty in the nineteenth century if Neale, Willemen, and Smith did not

focus specifically upon westerns, those fantasies of pre-industrial America, and if Smith did not make explicit the link that Williamson's and Neale's foci imply. Smith identifies Natty Bumppo as the forefather of Eastwood's characters:

> There is little point in trying to demonstrate once again the long history of that man [the westerner], from Fenimore Cooper's pioneering heroes . . . to a plethora in the 1980s of action heroes like Eastwood in Heartbreak Ridge or Mel Gibson in Lethal Weapon" (89)

Because Smith assumes a connection between antebellum texts and twentieth-century films, so we might also assume that critical analyses of recent films are meant as frameworks for understanding antebellum texts. The reverse may be more true. If reading twentieth-century representations of masculinity into antebellum texts seems to provide scope and a sense of historical affirmation to twentieth-century analyses, than re-reading representations of antebellum masculinity may undermine some twentieth-century analyses.

This dissertation demonstrates that manly beauty in the antebellum period was less associated with maintaining or erecting an "autonomous" masculine identity than with commercial productivity and social interaction. A beautiful masculine identity was sustained through social relationality more than personal autonomy. Although beautiful men were capable of violence--specifically in

defence of society—the beauty of their bodies derived from their productive participation in society. In that context, Natty Bumppo's withdrawal from society is figured as a retreat from manly beauty. Within an economy increasingly associated with unequal capital distribution, unfair legislation, and wage labor, however, manly beauty was increasingly unavailable anyway. Natty's withdrawal, then, can also be seen as an attempt to preserve both manly beauty and the fantasy of progressive civilization associated with it. This may be why the close of The Deerslayer foregrounds the heroic hard-bodied Natty bound to a stake but backgrounds the heroism of beautiful Harry March, who arrives with the cavalry.

If Natty's double bind foreshadows Eastwood's, we might examine contemporary filmic representations of masculinity for evidence that manly beauty also operates behind the scenes of contemporary representations. It functions not merely as a component of a sadomasochistic narrative that "we men know" but as a mark of narratives that rely upon expectations of manhood that emphasize men's relation to society, civilization, and economy. In short, if we learn those historic narratives, as this dissertation strives to do, we may understand other, less damaging ways of producing, becoming, or acting like "man."

Aaron, Daniel. "Two Boston Fugitives: Dana and Parkman." American Literature, Culture, and Ideology. Essays in Memory of Henry Nash Smith. Ed. Beverly R. Voloshin. New York: Peter Lang, 1990. 115-132.

Adams, Steven, Ross, Donald, Jr. "Thoreau's 'Ktaadn': 'The Main Astonishment at Last.'" English Language Notes 20.3-4 (Mar.-June, 1983): 39-47.

Alcott, William A., M. D. The Physiology of Marriage. Boston: Dinsmoor and Company, 1866.

Alcott, William A., M. D. The Young Man's Guide. Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1849.

Altherr, Thomas L. "'Drunk with the Chase': The Influence of Francis Parkman's The California and Oregon Trail upon Herman Melville's Moby-Dick, or the Whale." Journal of the American Studies Association of Texas 21 (October 1990): 1-14.

Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)." Lenin and Philosophy. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.

"American People, The," The Harbinger. (September 20, 1845): 239.

Anderson, Charles. Melville in the South Seas. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.

Appleton, Nathan. "Speech." The Congressional Globe. Vol. 11. (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair and Rives, 1842. 575-72.

Armstrong, James. "Thoreau, Chastity, and the Reformers." Thoreau's Psychology. Eight Essays. Ed. Raymond Gozzi. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983.

Arthur, T. S. Rising in the World. New York: Baker & Scribner, 1849.

Bagby, George F. "The Temptations of Pathfinder: Cooper's Radical Critique of Ownership," James Fenimore Cooper: New Historical and Literary Contexts. Ed. W. M. Verhoeven. Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1993.

Barnard, Daniel D., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11. (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 870-873.

Bates, Isaac C., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 13 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1844. 294-298.

Beaver, Harold. "Parkman's Crack-up: A Bostonian on The Oregon Trail." New England Quarterly. 64.3 (1975): 84-103.

Beecher, Henry Ward. Lectures to Young Men. Boston: John P. Jewett, 1849.

Bellows, Henry W., Rev. "The Influence of the Trading Spirit Upon the Social and Moral Life of America." American Museum. 2.5 (May, 1838): 349-364.

Berthold, Michael. "'Portenteous Somethings': Melville's Typee and the Language of Captivity." New England Quarterly. 60.4 (December, 1987). 549-567.

Black, Edward J., Rep. "Speach." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 678-688.

Blair, John G., Trowbridge, Augustus. "Thoreau on Katahdin." American Quarterly. 12 (1960): 508-517.

"Book-Trade, The. Typee." Hunt's Merchants' Magazine. 14.1 (January through June, 1846): 491.

Breitwieser, Mitchell. "False Sympathy in Melville's Typee." American Quarterly. 34.4 (Fall 1982): 396-417.

Brommel, Nicholas Knowles. By the Sweat of the Brow: Literature and Labor in Antebellum America. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993.

Brown, A. V., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 482-486.

Brown, Gillian. "Empire of Agoraphobia." Herman Melville: A Collection of Critical Essays. Ed. Myra Jehlen. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Printice Hall, 1994.

Brown, Milton, Rep "Speech " Congressional Globe. Vol 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 894-899.

Burke, Edmund, Rep "Speech " Congressional Globe Vol 11 (Appendix): Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842 563-568.

Burnap, G. W. Rev. "The Influence of the Use of Machinery " American Museum of Literature and the Arts 2 5 (May, 1839) 349-364.

Calhoun, John C., Sen. "Speech " Congressional Globe Vol 11 (Appendix) Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842 771-775.

Carpenter, William B., M D. Principles of Human Physiology Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1847

Cawelti, John G. Apostles of the Self-Made Man. Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1965

Cawelti, John G: "Cooper and the Frontier Myth and Anti-Myth " James Fenimore Cooper: New Historical and Literary Contexts Ed W M Verhoeven Atlanta, GA. Rodopi, 1993.

Choates, Rufus, Sen. "Speech " Congressional Globe. Vol. 13 (Appendix): Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1844. 641-650.

Clifford, Nathan, Rep "Speech " Congressional Globe Vol 11 (Appendix): Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842 669-678.

Combe, Andrew, M.D. The Principles of Physiology Ed O S. Fowler. New York: Fowlers and Wells, Publishers, 1855:

Congdon, Charles T: "Midnight Thoughts " The Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion 2 (July-December, 1842): 168-169.

"Conversations with a Radical: IV " The Boston Quarterly Review 4.1 (January, 1841): 31-41.

"Conversations with a Radical. V." The Boston Quarterly Review 4.1 (April, 1841): 137-183

Cooper, James Fenimore. The American Democrat. Ed. George Dekker and Larry Johnson. New York: Penguin Books, 1969.

Cooper, James Fenimore. Chainbearer; or, The Littlepage Manuscripts. a Tale of the Colony. Boston. Houghton, Osgood, 1880.

Cooper, James Fenimore. The Deerslayer. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1925

Cooper, James Fenimore, The Pathfinder. New York: Penguin Books, 1989.

Cooper, James Fenimore, The Pioneers. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1898.

Cooper, James Fenimore. The Prairie. New York: E. P. Dutton & CO. Inc., 1950

Cooper, James Fenimore, The Redskins; or, Indian and Injin. New York: Burgess & Stringer, 1846.

Cooper, James Fenimore Satanstoe; or, The Littlepage Manuscripts. a Tale of the Colony. Boston: Houghton, Osgood, 1880.

Cooper, James Fenimore. The Wing-and-Wing. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884.

Cosbey, Robert C. "Thoreau at Work: The Writing of 'Ktaadn.'" Bulletin of the New York Public Library. 65 (1961): 21-30.

Crain, Caleb. "Lovers of Human Flesh: Homosexuality and Cannibalism in Melville's Novels." American Literature 66.1 (March 1994): 25-53.

Creech, James. Closet Writing/Gay Reading. The Case of Melville's Pierre. Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Cresson, J. "A Voice from Pennsylvania," Fisher's Industrial Record and National Review. 2.12 (May, 1846): 1107-1109.

Cruvheilhier, J. Anatomy of the Human Body. Ed. Granville Sharp Pattison. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1844.

Dana, Charles A. "Labor for Wages." The Harbinger (April 25, 1846): 318-319.

D'Emilio, John and Freeman, Estelle B. Intimate Matters. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.

Dimock, Wai-chee, "Types: Melville's Critique of Community." Emerson Society Quarterly 30 i (1984): 27-39.

Dixon, Edward H. M. D. Scenes in the Practice of a New York Surgeon. New York: DeWitt & Davenport, Publishers, 1855

Dodd, William. The Laboring Classes of England. Boston: John Putnam, 1848.

Dodd, William. The Factory System. London. John Murray, 1842

Doudna, Martin, K. "Thoreau and the Sandwich Islanders." The New England Quarterly 56.3 (September, 1983): 432-439

Draper, John William. Human Physiology. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856.

Dunglison, Robley. Human Health, 1844. Ed. Barbara Gutman Rosenkrantz. New York: Arno Press, 1977

Eagleton, Terry. The Ideology of the Aesthetic. London. Basil Blackwell, 1990.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo, "The American Scholar," Selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson. Ed. Stephen E. Whicher Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957.

Evans, George. "Speech." The Congressional Globe. Vol. 13 (Appendix). Washington DC. Blair and Rives, 1844. 353-363.

Evans, George. "Speech." The Congressional Globe. Vol. 13 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair and Rives, 1842. 708-715

Evelev, John. "'Made in the Marquesas': Types, Tatooing and Melville's Critique of the Marketplace." Arizona Quarterly 48.4 (Winter 1992). 19-45.

Barbuzzi, Robert. "Thoreau's Urban Imagination." American Literature 68.2 (Jun 1996): 321-346.

Fillmore, Millard, Rep. "Speech." The Congressional Globe Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair and Rives, 1842. 904-908.

Fitzhugh, George. Cannibals All! or Slaves Without Masters, 1857. Ed. C. Vann Woodward. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1960.

"Foreign Commerce." Debow's Commercial Register 1.1 (January, 1846): 86.

Fornance, Joseph, Rep. "Speech." The Congressional Globe Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair and Rives, 1842. 493-495.

Fowler O. S., M. D. Ed. The Principles of Physiology. Boston and Philadelphia: Fowlers and Wells, Publishers, 1855.

Frost, Linda. "'The Red Face of Man,' the Penobscot Indian, and a Conflict of Interest in Thoreau's Maine Woods." Emerson Society Quarterly 39.1 (1st Quarter, 1993): 20-46.

Fulton, Joe Boyd. "Doing 'Pioneer Work': The Male Writer in Thoreau's Week and Walden." Emerson Society Quarterly 41.4 (4th Quarter, 1995): 289-305.

Gale, Robert L. Francis Parkman. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc, 1973.

Gleason, William. "Re-Creating Walden: Thoreau's Economy of Work and Play." American Literature 65.4 (December, 1993): 673-701.

Griscom, John H., M. D., The Sanitary Conditions of the Laboring Population of New York. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1845.

Gross, Robert. "Culture and Cultivation: Agriculture and Society in Thoreau's Concord." Journal of American History 69 (June, 1982): 45-60.

Grusin, Richard A. "Thoreau, Extravagnce, and the Economy of Nature." American Literary History 5.1 (Spring, 1993): 30-50.

Gwin, William M., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 635-638.

Haberstroh, Charles. Melville and Male Identity. Rutherford, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980.

Harding, Walter. "Thoreau's Sexuality." Journal of Homosexuality 21.3 (1991): 23-45.

Hastings, John, Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 694-699.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. The Scarlet Letter. 1850. Heath Anthology of American Literature v. 1. Ed. Paul Lauter. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1994.

Heath, William. "Melville and Marquesan Eroticism." Massachusetts Review 29.1 (Spring, 1988): 43-65.

Herbert, Walter T, Jr. Marquesan Encounters. Melville and the Meaning of Civilization. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Higgins, Brian and Hershel, Parker. Ed. Herman Melville: the Contempary Reviews. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Hoag, Ronald Wesley. "The Mark of the Wilderness: Thoreau's Contact with Ktaadn." Texas Studies in Literature and Language 24.1 (Spring, 1982): 23-46.

Hubard, Edmund W., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 503-510.

Hunt, Hiram P., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix): Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 873-877.

Huntington, Jabez, Sen. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 13 (Appendix) Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 737-741.

Ingersoll, C. J., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 642-645.

"Italian Peasantry, The." The Harbinger. 2.8 (January 31, 1846): 121.

Jarvis, Edward, M. D. Primary Physiology for Schools. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. 1848.

Jennings, Francis. "Francis Parkman: A Brahmin Among Untouchables." The William and Mary Quarterly. 72.3 (July, 1985): 305-328.

Johnson, Linck C. Thoreau's Complex Weave: the Writing of A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, with the Text of the First Draft. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1986.

Kasson, John. Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976.

Katz, Jonathan Ned. The Invention of Heterosexuality. New York: Penguin Books, 1995.

Kaul, A. N. The American Vision: Actual and Ideal Society in Nineteenth-Century Fiction. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

Kimmel, Michael S. Manhood in America: a Cultural History. New York: Free Press, 1996.

Knadler, Stephen P. "Francis Parkman's Ethnography of the Brahmin Caste and The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac." American Literature. 65.2 (June, 1993). 215-238.

Kreyling, Michael. Figures of the Hero in Southern Narrative. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987.

Lane, Lauriate, Jr. "Thoreau's Response to the Maine Woods." Emerson Society Quarterly. 47 (1967): 37-41.

Laqueur, Thomas. Making Sex, Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Lawson-Peebles, Robert. "Property, Marriage, Women, and Fenimore Cooper's First Fictions." James Fenimore Cooper: New Historical and Literary Contexts. Ed. W. M. Verhoeven. Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1993.

Leary, Lewis. "Beyond the Brink of Fear: Thoreau's Wilderness/" Studies in the Literary Imagination 7 (1974): 67-74.

Leverenz, David. Manhood and the American Renaissance. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Levin, David. "Introduction," The Oregon Trail. Ed. John Seelye. New York: Penguin Books, 1982.

Levin, David. "Modern Misjudgments of Racial Imperialism in Hawthorne and Parkman." Yearbook of English Studies 13 (1983). 145-158.

Lukacs, Gyorgy, The Historical Novel. New York: Humanities Press, 1965.

Martin, Robert. "'Envlable Isles': Melville's South Seas." Homosexual Themes in Literary Studies. Ed. Stephen Donaldson. New York: Garland, 1992.

Martin, Robert. Hero, Captain, and Stranger: Male Friendship, Social Critique and Literary Form in the Sea Novels of Herman Melville. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

McCulloch, J. R. The Principles of Political Economy. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1849.

McDuffie, George, Sen. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 13 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1844. 104-109.

McDuffie, George, Sen. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 13 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1844. 141-144.

McDuffie, George, Sen. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 13 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1844: 745-753

McIntosh, James. Thoreau as Romantic Naturalist: His Shifting Stance Towards Nature. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1974

McKeon, John, Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 703-708.

Melville, Herman. Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life. Ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle. Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University Press and the Newberry Library, 1968

Miller, Lewis H., Jr. "The Artist as Surveyor in Walden and The Maine Woods." Emerson Society Quarterly 21 (1975): 76-81

Mosse, George L. The Image of Man: the Creation of Modern Masculinity. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996

Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Screen 16.3 (Autumn 1975): 6-18

Neale, Steve. "Masculinity as Spectacle," Screen. 24.6 (Nov.-Dec. 1983): 2-17

Neufeldt, Leonard. The Economist: Henry Thoreau and Enterprise. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Neufeldt, Leonard. "Thoreau's Political Economy." New England Quarterly Review 57.3 (July, 1984): 359-82.

Newbury, Michael. "Hawthorne, Thoreau, and Middle-Class Fitness." American Quarterly 47.4 (December 1995): 481-514

"Notices of New Books: Typee." Fisher's Industrial Record and National Magazine 2.12 (May, 1846): 1172

Nott, J. C., M. D., and Gliddon, George R., M. D. Types of Mankind. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co, 1854.

Nye, Russel B. "Parkman, Red Fate, and White Civilization." Ed Clarence Gohdes Essays on American Literature in Honor of Jay B. Hubbell Duke University Press. Durham. 1967. 152-163.

Olivero, Toni H. "Ambiguous Utopia: Savagery and Civilization in Typee and Omoo." Modern Language Studies. 13.1 (Winter, 1983): 39-46

Opdyke, George. A Treatise on Political Economy, 1851. Augustus M. Kelly Publishers: Clifton 1973.

Parkman, Francis. The Oregon Trail. Ed. John Seelye. New York: Penguin Books, 1982

Paul, Sherman. The Shores Of America: Thoreau's Inward Exploration. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985.

Payne, William W. Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol 11 (Appendix). Washington DC. Blair & Rives, 1842. 621-624.

Pfitzer, Gregory M. " Thoreau and Mother Nature: 'Ktaadn' as an Oedipal Tale." American Transcendental Quarterly. 2.4 (December, 1988): 302-311.

Phelps, Samuel C., Sen. Congressional Globe. Vol. 13 (Appendix). Washington DC. Blair & Rives, 1844. 337-345.

Pickering, John. The Working Man's Political Economy. Cincinnati. Thomas Varney, 1847.

Pocock, J. G. A. Virtue, Commerce, and History. Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Pope, John, Rep. "Speech." The Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair and Rives, 1842. 914-915.

Pugh, David G. Sons of Liberty. The Masculine Mind in Nineteenth-century America. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1983.

Radaker, Kevin "Henry Thoreau and Frederic Church. Confronting the Monumental Sublimity of the Maine Wilderness." Yearbook of Interdisciplinary Studies in the Fine Arts 1 (1989): 267-88.

Randolph, Joseph F., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe, Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 817-824.

Rans, Geoffrey. Cooper's Leather-Stocking Novels: A Secular Reading. Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 1991.

Ranker, Elizabeth. Strike Through the Mask. Herman Melville and the Scene of Writing. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

"Review: Typee." The Harbinger 2-17 (April, 1846): 263.

Rives, William C, Sen. "Speech." Congressional Globe, Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842: 216-218.

Robinson, David M. "'Unchronicled Nations': Agrarian Purposes and Thoreau's Ecological Knowing." Nineteenth-Century Literature 48.3 (December, 1995): 326-40.

Robinson, Forrest G. "Uncertain Borders: Race, Sex, and Civilization in The Last of the Mohicans." Arizona Quarterly 41.1 (Spring 1991): 1-27.

Romero, Lora. "Vanishing Americans: Gender, Empire, and New Historicism." American Literature 63-3 (September 1991): 385-404.

Rotundo, E. Anthony. American Manhood. New York. BasicBooks, 1993.

Rubin, Louis. "The Romance of the Colonial Frontier: Simms, Cooper, the Indians, and the Wilderness." American Letters and the Historical Consciousness. Ed J. Gerald Kennedy and Daniel Mark Fogel. Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge. 1987.

Sattelmeyer, Robert. "Thoreau and Melville's Typee." American Literature: A Journal of Literary History, Criticism, and Bibliography 52 (1980): 462-68.

Bayre, Robert F. Thoreau and the American Indians. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977.

Scheckel, Susan. "'In the Land of His Fathers': Cooper, Land Rights, and the Legitimation of American National Identity." James Fenimore Cooper: New Historical and Literary Contexts. Ed. W. M. Verhoeven. Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1993.

Schueller, Malini Johar. "Colonialism and Melville's South Sea Journeys." Studies in American Fiction 22.1 (Spring, 1994): 3-18.

Sellers, Charles. The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1880. Wealeyan University Press. Middleton, CT 1979.

Shepard, William B., Rep. "Speech." Register of Debates in Congress. Vol. 9, Part 2. Washington DC: Gales and Seaton, 1833. 1434-1478.

Simms, William Gilmore. Beauchampe. New York: AMS Prese, 1970.

Simms, William Gilmore. Border Beagles. New York: AMS Press, 1970.

Simms, William Gilmore. "The Last Wager." The Wigwam and the Cabin. Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1968.

Simms, William Gilmore. Richard Hurdis. New York. AMS Press 1971.

Simms, William Gilmore. Self-Development. Milledgeville. The Thalian Society, 1847.

Simms, William Gilmore. The Social Principle. Tuscaloosa: The Erosophic Society of the University of Alabama, 1843.

Simms, William Gilmore. The Social Principle. Tuscaloosa: The Erosophic Society of the University of Alabama, 1843.

Simms, William Gilmore. "The Writings of James Fenimore Cooper." Views and Reviews in American Literature, History and Fiction. New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1845.

Simms, William Gilmore. The Yemassee. Ed. Alexander Cowie. New York: American Book Company, 1937.

Simon, Myron. "Thoreau's Politics." Ed. Frank Tibor. The Origins and Originality of American Culture. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1984.

Simpson, Alfred William Brian. Cannibalism and the Common Law. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Siracusa, Carl. A Mechanical People. Perceptions of the Industrial Order in Massachusetts, 1815-1880. Middletown, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1979.

Slade, William, Rep. "Speech." The Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair and Rives, 1842. 945-951.

Smith, Adam. An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. Ed. R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976. v.1.

Smith, Adam. The Theory of Moral Sentiments. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Smith, Paul. "Action Movie Hysteria; Or, Eastwood Bound." Differences 1.3 (Fall) 88-107.

Smith, William, Rep. "Speech." The Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair and Rives, 1842. 720-729.

Steenrod, Lewis, Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 549-552.

Sten, Christopher. The Weaver-God, He Weaves. Melville and the Poetics of the Novel. Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1996.

Stewart, Justman. The Autonomous Male of Adam Smith. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1953.

Stuart, John T., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 857-862.

Stull, William L. "'Action from Principle': Thoreau's Transcendental Economics." English Language Notes (December, 1984): 58-62.

Summers, George W. Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 908-913.

"Tariff, The." The Southern Quarterly Review 9.17 (January, 1846): 114-149.

Tallmadge, John. "'Ktaadn': Thoreau in the Wilderness of Words." Emerson Society Quarterly 3.1 (Third Quarter, 1985): 137-148.

Taylor, William R. Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character. New York: George Brazillar, 1961.

Terrie, Philip G. "The Other Within: Indianization on The Oregon Trail." New England Quarterly 64.3 (September 1991): 376-92.

Thompson, Jacob, Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC: Blair & Rives, 1842. 638-642.

Thompson, R. W., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC. Blair & Rives, 1842. 957-966.

Thoreau, Henry David. "Chesuncook." 1856. The Maine Woods. Ed. Joseph J. Moldenhauer. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Thoreau, Henry David. Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau. Ed. Walter Harding. Washington Square: New York University Press, 1958.

Thoreau, Henry David. "East Branch and Allagash," 1863. The Maine Woods. Ed. Joseph J. Moldenhauer. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Thoreau, Henry David. "Ktaadn," 1848. The Maine Woods. Ed. Joseph J. Moldenhauer. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Thoreau, Henry David. The Writings of Henry David Thoreau. Ed. Sattlemeyer, Robert. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984. Three volumes to date.

Tolchin, Neal. Mourning, Gender and Creativity in the Art of Herman Melville. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1988.

Townsend, Kim. "Francis Parkman and the Male Tradition." American Quarterly 38.1 (1986): 97-113.

"Types." The American Review: A Whig Journal (April, 1846): 415-424.

Verhoeven, W. M. "Introduction," James Fenimore Cooper. New Historial and Literary Contexts. Amstardam: Rodopi, 1993.

Vathake, Henry, The Principles of Political Economy, 1844. Introd. Joseph Dorfman and Rexford G. Tuggell. New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1971.

Warner, Michael. "Thoreau's Erotic Economy." Comparative American Identities. Ed. Hortense Spillers. New York: Rutledge, 157-74.

Warner, Michael. "Thoreau's Bottom." Raritan 11.3 (Winter, 1992): 53-79.

Warren, Josiah. Equitable Commerce A New Development of Principles, or Substitutes. New Harmony, IN: J. Warren. 1846.

Watson, Ritchie D. "Frontier Yeoman versus Cavalier: The Dilemma of Antebellum Southern Fiction." The Frontier Experience and the American Dream. Ed. David Mogen, Mark Busby, and Paul Bryant. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1989.

Wayland, Francis, D. D. The Elements of Political Economy. 1837. Ed. Aaron L. Chapin. New York: Sheldon & Company, 1886.

Weller, John B., Rep. "Speech." Congressional Globe. Vol. 11 (Appendix). Washington DC. Blair & Rives, 1842. 632-635.

West, Michael "Eschatology of Scatology: The Heroic Dimensions of Thoreau's Wordplay." PMLA 89 (1974): 1043-64.

Willemen, Paul. "Looking at the Male." Framework 15/17 (1981): 16.

Wimsatt Mary Ann, The Major Fiction of William Gilmore Simms. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989.

Winkelmann, Johann Joachim Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture. Trans. Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton. La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1987.

Wyllie, Irvin G. The Self-Made Man in America: the Myth of Rags to Riches. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954.

Yannella, Phillip R. "Socio-Economic Disarray and Literary Response: Concord and Walden." Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature 14.1 (Winter, 1981): 1-24.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Gary Douglas MacDonald was reared in Coventry, Rhode Island. At Rhode Island College in Providence, Rhode Island, he majored in literature and creative writing, and graduated with honors in 1983. He began graduate work at the University of Florida in 1989, earning a master's degree in English in 1991 and completing his Ph.D. in English in 1997.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

David Leverenz, Chair
Professor of English

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Anne Goodwyn Jones
Associate Professor of English

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

John Murchek
Assistant Professor of English

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Louise M Newman
Assistant Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Stephanie A Smith
Associate Professor of English

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty and the Department of English in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 1997

Dean, Graduate School